



1001 1352886

THE CITIZEN OF TO-MORROW

A HANDBOOK ON
SOCIAL QUESTIONS




The Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT

WEST FOOTHILL AT COLLEGE AVENUE
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

W. A. Jennings,

Southwick - on. Mass.

April 4th 1908.



THE CITIZEN OF
TO-MORROW

2055

THE CITIZEN OF TO-MORROW

A HANDBOOK ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS

EDITED

BY

SAMUEL E. KEEBLE

FOR THE

WESLEYAN METHODIST

UNION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

THIRTEENTH THOUSAND

London

ROBERT CULLEY

2 CASTLE ST., CITY RD., AND 26 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

Theology Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

PRINTED AND BOUND BY
HAZELL, WATSON, AND VINEY, LD.,
LONDON AND AYLESBURY.

'SEE AND SERVE'

**RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO
THE MEMBERS
OF THE
WESLEYAN METHODIST
UNION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE**

PREFACE

THE title of this book, *THE CITIZEN OF TO-MORROW*, is meant to indicate that it is written from the point of view of the young and from the point of view of the future. Hence it is in substance elementary and in spirit idealistic. It is a book for beginners, especially for the young, who will be the actual citizens of to-morrow. It has come into existence through the collaboration of a few social idealists and social reformers, and is written in the interests of the social morrow and of the citizens of the future who will enjoy the fruits of the reforms advocated and will behold 'the new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven.' Written in the intervals of public and professional work, the book makes no pretence to being advanced, original, or exhaustive. It is but an introduction to the study of social questions. Bibliographies, themselves but brief and fragmentary, are appended to most of the chapters, for the assistance of those readers who may wish to take the next step in the study of these vast and complicated subjects. The writers, however, as will be seen from the Table of Contents, are not mere onlookers or theorists, but either active social workers,

PREFACE

who have studied these problems at first hand and from real life, or competent scholars, writers, and advocates interested in the application of Christianity to social life.

The volume has been prepared at the request of the Council of the Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service, and is published for it; but the Union itself is not thereby committed to any particular views expressed or reforms advocated by the individual writers. Nevertheless, the book does, inasmuch as it is written by some of the leading members of the Union, indicate its general attitude towards social problems, and therefore may be taken as its manifesto—a manifesto issued by it in the very first year of its existence. Each writer in the volume has enjoyed the utmost freedom of expression. The chapters are printed practically in the form in which they left the writers' hands. No attempt has been made by the editor either to tone down statements or to secure uniformity of literary style. Readers are asked, therefore, to bear with varieties both of view and of modes of expression which would not appear in a book coming from any one hand or from under a rigid editorship. Doubtless they will find compensations. In addition, a certain amount of over-lapping will be detected, which could not be obviated if clearness and comparative completeness were to be secured. But, even when facts are repeated and subjects are re-touched, it will be found that they are looked at from another angle and in a new light. The writers are,

PREFACE

one and all, conscious of the inadequacy of their treatment of their various themes. This has been necessitated by inexorable limitations of space, and also by the nature of the book as a review of the different aspects of the social question for the sake of beginners. It will be seen from the Table of Contents that the matter of the book falls into three parts—'Historical and General,' 'Labour and Poverty,' and 'Citizenship and Service'—with five chapters in each part.

The five chapters on the 'Historical and General' part are important as giving the point of view, and it will be found to be that of Evangelical Christianity. Not, indeed, the point of view of Individualistic Evangelicalism, the old-fashioned Evangelicalism, purblind and reactionary, despite its virtues and excellences; but the point of view of the new Evangelicalism, of Evangelical Social Christians, who, while placing foremost the need for individual change and renewal by the grace of the gospel of God, nevertheless give nearly equal prominence to the need for the salvation of society by the application of the social principles of the same gospel. They believe that individual salvation means much more than the salvation of 'the soul' as a thing apart from the body and from social circumstances. It involves the whole man and in real measure, finally, the whole environment. It is clear that many individuals can never be, or at least are never, 'saved' at all under existing social conditions, and that those who are saved, in any satisfactory sense,

PREFACE

can never be completely saved in an ethically detrimental environment, one which is absolutely inimical to Christian virtues and graces. Christian personalities cannot flourish in a malignantly unideal, tempting, corrupting social atmosphere or industrial condition. They may live heroically, like trees on a bleak coast; but they never realize their potentialities, and many perish. Evangelical Social Christians would help to provide the converted with a fitting social environment, and would also save the Church's work from constant social neutralization or destruction. They believe that a condition of society is quite conceivable and practicable in which the possession of the virtues of the Christian religion would be not a handicap, but a help; in which spirituality, humility, gentleness, purity, piety, peaceableness, mercifulness, and the cardinal virtues would be true qualifications for citizenship and business life, the characteristics best calculated to secure success in life. To this end Christ taught us to labour and to pray—'Thy kingdom come!' He came to set up on earth the kingdom of God, and Christian work is but begun when individuals are, in any sense, 'converted.' Conversions, even in Christ's sense, are not ends in themselves: they are but conditions for citizenship—the citizenship of the kingdom of God. Men are 'born again' in order that they may 'enter the kingdom of God,' and are therefore means to the grand and glorious end of setting up a new social order on earth—the City of God, 'a new earth

PREFACE

wherein dwelleth righteousness.' Christians should therefore keep this ultimate goal in full view, and labour, not merely for social units, but for the social whole, and beware perpetually of the mistake of 'not seeing the wood for the trees.'

The second part of the book enters upon the specific problems of 'Labour and Poverty.' Mr. Ensor Walters's historical *résumé* in chapter six is complementary to Mr. Fiddian Moulton's in chapter one, and practically begins where Mr. Moulton is reluctantly compelled to halt. Pauperism (chapter seven), and Unemployment (chapter eight) are allied problems, and Drink (chapter nine) and Gambling (chapter ten) are two causes and two effects of those grave evils, though, of course, far from being the only causes and the only effects of Unemployment, Poverty, and Pauperism. Mr. George McArthur's chapter indicates quite clearly that the fundamental causes of Unemployment, with its consequent poverty and misery, are economic and educational causes, such as the inadequate remuneration of labour, a radically defective land system, wrong methods of education, and defective social and industrial organization. Change these, and the evils arising from incapacity, from idleness, drink, gambling, and other vices, will quickly be brought within manageable dimensions. Above all, the work of the Christian Church would be vastly simplified and stimulated.

The third part of the book consists of five chapters, grouped roughly under the head of 'Citizenship and

PREFACE

Service'; for the questions of the Land (chapter eleven), Housing (chapter twelve), Women (chapter thirteen), Children (chapter fourteen), and the Municipality (chapter fifteen), are all questions vital to the existence of the community, and vast fields which invite the most earnest and skilled social labour. Here, indeed, as everywhere in the social realm, we must 'see' to 'serve,' and both 'see and serve.'

In the list of subjects there are many omissions. It has been impossible to do more than arbitrarily select certain salient and leading topics for treatment, to the necessary neglect of many others equally important.

The Editor is greatly indebted to the Hon. Secretary of the Union for Social Service, Rev. William F. Lofthouse, M.A., and to the Secretaries of the Publication Committee, Rev. Harry Bissek, M.A., and Mr. Arthur Page Grubb, for help in bringing out this volume. He is much indebted to other friends for help in proof-reading, and in preparing the index, and also to the writers of the volume for their ability, courtesy, patience, and promptitude. Finally, he commends this little volume, with confidence, as a sincere attempt to help forward the great cause of Christian social reform.

S. E. KEEBLE.

MANCHESTER,

June 30, 1906.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

HISTORICAL AND GENERAL

CHAPTER	PAGE
I From Serf to Citizen	5
W. FIDDIAN MOULTON, M.A., <i>Seacombe.</i>	
II The Call and Credentials of Social Christianity	25
HARRY BISSEKER, M.A., <i>Leysian Mission, London.</i>	
III John Wesley and Social Service	51
J. ERNEST RATTENBURY, <i>Central Mission, Nottingham.</i>	
IV Charity in Relation to Social Reconstruction	71
J. SCOTT LIDGETT, M.A., Ald. L.C.C., <i>Bermondsey Settlement, London.</i>	
V Christianity and Socialism	85
FRANK BALLARD, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., <i>Newcastle-on-Tyne.</i>	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART II

LABOUR AND POVERTY

CHAPTER	PAGE
VI Labour : Its History, Conditions, and Prospects	109
C. ENSOR WALTERS, <i>West End Mission, London.</i>	
VII Poverty: Its Facts and Problems	127
WILLIAM F. LOFTHOUSE, M.A., <i>Handsworth College, Birmingham.</i> <i>Hon. Sec. of Union for Social Service.</i>	
VIII The Citizen and Unemployment	149
GEORGE W. MCARTHUR, <i>London.</i>	
IX The Drink Question	173
T. N. KELYNACK, M.D., M.R.C.P., <i>Editor of 'British Journal of Inebriety.'</i> <i>Hon. Sec. of Society for the Study of Inebriety.</i>	
X Gambling: A Social Cancer	187
J. ASH PARSONS, <i>Leysian Mission, London.</i>	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART III

CITIZENSHIP AND SERVICE

CHAPTER	PAGE
XI The Land and the Citizen	207
PERCY W. BUNTING, M.A., Barr., <i>Editor of 'The Contemporary Review'</i> <i>and 'The Methodist Times.'</i>	
XII The Housing of the Citizen	223
ARTHUR PAGE GRUBB, <i>Assistant Editor of 'The Methodist Times.'</i>	
XIII Women and Social Problems	247
MARIE STUART, <i>Late Assoc. of Royal Sanitary Institute.</i>	
XIV The Young, or Citizens in the Making . .	265
W. BLACKBURN FITZ-GERALD, <i>Connexional Secretary of the Wesley Guild.</i>	
XV The City, or the Service of the Citizens .	287
SAMUEL E. KEEBLE, <i>President of Union for Social Service.</i>	

‘SEE AND SERVE’

PART I HISTORICAL AND GENERAL

*Let your citizenship be worthy
of the gospel of Christ*

PHIL. i. 27

CHAPTER I
FROM SERF TO
CITIZEN

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON, M.A.
SEACOMBE

Man has been released successively from a state of legal dependence and from one of intellectual dependence; he now must be released from one of economic dependence.

FERDINAND LASSALLE.

A definite, long-drawn-out, and altogether remarkable era in the history of our civilization is coming to a close among the more advanced peoples. We are entering on a new era. The political enfranchisement of the masses is wellnigh accomplished; the process which will occupy the next period will be that of their social enfranchisement.

BENJAMIN KIDD.

CHAPTER I

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

The whole interest of history lies in the fortunes of the poor.
EMERSON.

THE history of the English people is the history of consistent and steady progress from serfdom to citizenship. But care must be taken not to read too much of evil into the former or of good into the latter. Serfdom is very far from being identical with slavery, and it does not necessarily imply hardship, any more than citizenship necessarily implies well-being. There are those who strongly maintain that the liberation of the serfs in Russia, however well meant, has lowered the standard of well-being among the people, and left them in a more hopeless plight than before ; and although the condition of serfs on a great estate during the Middle Ages might be one of 'indescribable wretchedness—witness the picture drawn so vividly by Conan Doyle in *The White Company*—that depended largely upon the disposition and character of the lord of the manor ; and, granted a cruel and selfish proprietor, the condition of his dependents would be sufficiently appalling, whether there was a state of serfdom or of nominal freedom.

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

The fundamental distinction between serf and citizen is one of freedom of choice—as to place of residence and manner of work. The mediaeval serf had no such freedom, and his rights were reduced to a minimum: and it is from a state such as this that we start in our survey of the development of the citizen of yesterday. This state was only to be expected in an England almost entirely rural, and administered upon a feudal basis. The change that has taken place in the distribution of population between the fourteenth century and the nineteenth is as important as the growth of that population. In the fourteenth century, according to the computation of Professor Thorold Rogers, London had a population of 35,000; York, 10,000; Bristol, 9,500; Coventry, 7,000; Norwich, 6,000; Lincoln, 5,000; and no other towns reached that last figure. At the head of the list of counties, according to wealth and population, stood Middlesex (with London), Norfolk, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Kent, &c.; while in the assessments of 1375, 1453, and 1503, Lancashire competed with Cumberland for the bottom place, which may be taken as a fairly reliable indication as to population. Even as late as 1770 the agricultural population amounted to over 42 per cent. of the whole, and was substantially in advance of that which was engaged in manufacture.

Under any conditions the process of development in rural districts is a slower one than amid the stimulating and educating intercourse of town life; and that quasi-isolation of the village districts which has, as yet, saved Russia—an empire with a village population amounting to over 80 per cent. of the whole—from successful revolution, delayed the progress of the bulk of the people of England from serfdom to citizenship. Within half a

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

century from the Industrial Revolution, which gave so great an impetus to the development of urban England, more progress was made towards the state of citizenship than in the four centuries that preceded.

The Feudal System was, at the same time, both the expression of a spirit and the creator of that spirit, for cause and effect can never be absolutely disentangled in the study of social questions.

Feudalism.

Feudalism reigned supreme except in the towns—but few in number—whose charters gave them autonomy of a kind; and even after it had broken down as a system it lived on as an influence. On its political side feudalism was a system of land tenure upon a basis of military service; on its social side a great family pyramid, resting on its apex, but kept in a state of tolerable equilibrium by several forces, of which fear, ignorance, and indolence were the most potent. By what means the great feudal lords acquired their powers we cannot stay to consider: there they were, for good or evil. Probably in an age of perpetual warfare and unrest the common people were glad to render service and obedience to him who was able and willing to be their protector; but the system lived on long after the protection had ceased to exist, and, in only too many cases, the overlord was disposed rather to despoil than to protect his clients.

What are called the 'feudal incidents' may be quoted as illustrating some of these rights. When a tenant died the fief 'escheated' to the lord, and the next-of-kin had to pay a fine, technically known as a 'relief,' before he was allowed to enter upon possession. Then, further, there were the three chief 'aids,' which were compulsory contributions levied (1) for the ransoming of the lord's

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

person, (2) on the occasion of the knighting of his eldest son, (3) on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter.

Over and above these feudal dues there were the 'domestic' demands, belonging to that manorial system so intimately associated with feudalism, and representing the modern charge of rent. A tenant in villeinage was bound to give to his lord a certain number of days' labour at harvest and other special seasons, besides tilling and ploughing a portion of his lord's land, and making certain specified contributions in kind. Now it will be seen that all these claims do not necessarily involve a serious burden, and the state was not of necessity one of hardship. Indeed, Professor Thorold Rogers gives it as his firm conviction that the worker's position in the days of the Plantagenets was 'one of far more hope and far more plenty than it has been in those of the House of Hanover; that wages were, relative to their purchasing power, far higher, and the margin of enjoyable income over necessary expenditure was in consequence far wider.' But that great student of industrial conditions would have been the first to admit that the absence of personal freedom more than counterbalanced the purely material advantages of which he speaks. So long as the villein was bound to the soil, and subject absolutely to a master, he had not begun the progress from serfdom to citizenship.

We must now hasten to consider briefly the solvents of the old régime, the various forces—economic, military, intellectual, spiritual—which contributed to the dissolution of the Feudal System, on the social and the military sides alike. These forces converge mostly upon the years between 1350 and 1500, but it is impossible to isolate them and treat them

Solvents of
the Old
Régime.

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

as though they belonged entirely to any one epoch. The influences that became articulate and demonstrative during that period had been developing for many years, and all that can be attempted here is to point out the practical effect of some of these various influences—for completeness is impossible—upon the well-being of the people.

One of the most important facts to be borne in mind is the reflex action of European warfare upon English social life during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was a period of i. War. incessant fighting; and the Plantagenet claims upon French territory, as well as the roving spirit of individual monarchs, brought England into very intimate touch with the strife. From this state of things there resulted many important social changes. For example, the entry of gunpowder into warfare was a most powerful solvent of the feudal conception. As Carlyle says: 'Gunpowder makes all men equal.' There was a time when the knight went to battle clad in armour from head to foot, and the peasant in leather jerkin; and the shaft which would transfix the peasant glanced off harmlessly from the breastplate of the knight. Henceforth knight and peasant were to be on one level, equally endangered by the missile projected by 'the devil's dust'; and thus did gunpowder prove a solvent of the old régime by contributing to the breaking down of the barrier of caste.

Moreover, although the Crusades had failed miserably so far as their immediate object was concerned, their 'by-products' were of the very first importance. When 'men run to and fro knowledge shall be increased,' and so it was in this case. The Crusades proved a great

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

awakening force, and gave new impulse to Eastern travel and commerce. But, above all, they proved the occasion of the granting of many new charters to English towns, for the ready money needed by militant kings for their foreign wars was largely provided by the towns in return for substantial rights and concessions; and in its turn the money went to the support of a professional fighting force, so to speak, which tended to supersede the feudal levy.

It would not probably be an exaggeration to say that it was out of the financial necessities of kings and lords—caused mainly by the military passions of the age—that our towns began to grow. Trade combinations, in the form of merchant-guilds and craft-guilds, had already become a force to be reckoned with; and in the negotiations between needy lords and thriving traders the latter were, in the nature of the case, in the better position to acquire good terms for their towns; and, although the towns of England did not grow to great size prior to the Industrial Revolution, they were the nurseries of political intelligence and sturdy independence.

And if war—under the controlling influence of a gracious Providence—became the occasion of social emancipation, so also did pestilence. The
ii. *Pestilence.* Black Death which ravaged Europe during the fourteenth century had most important economic effects. The records of its devastations vary widely in their estimate of its effect upon population; but it is probable that quite one-third of the population of England was swept away. Coming as it did upon the top of a general loosening of the feudal bond, it could not fail to exercise a powerful influence upon social conditions.

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

Firstly, it enormously enhanced the value of labour by lessening the supply, and thereby labour obtained a chance of asserting itself as it had never done before. The Statute of Labourers (1349 and 1351) shows by its promulgation the panic of the landed proprietors, and by its failure the power of combination among workers even in that period. No persons under sixty years of age, whether serf or free, might decline to undertake farm labour at the wages which had been customary in the king's twentieth year, except they lived by merchandise, were regularly engaged in some mechanical craft, were possessed of private means, or were occupiers of land. No other than the old wages were to be asked or given, under heavy penalties. But the enactments were to a large extent a dead letter, existing only to witness to the impossibility of artificially regulating the price of labour in such circumstances, even in an age which was accustomed to such regulation of prices in the case of provisions and materials.

In the second place the Black Death accelerated the growth of enclosures. Arable land tended to be turned into permanent pasture, because sheep-farming demanded less labour, while its profits were great and its returns rapid. England possessed a notable advantage in this respect owing to the fact that her territory was practically free from disturbance in an age of almost universal warfare. Wars and rumours of wars were fatal to sheep-farming; and on that ground European farmers did not attempt it. Thus England obtained a practical monopoly of a profitable trade, and at the same time became more than ever interested in the maintenance of peace at home. The civil war of 1455-1485 may be thought, at first, to constitute an important exception to the statement

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

as to freedom from warfare on English soil ; but all the evidence tends to prove that the Wars of the Roses were little else than a faction fight among the great nobles, and that the common people looked on with indifference and contempt at that which only very slightly affected them for better or for worse.

Neither must the influence of the Lollards be ignored among the solvents of the old régime. Wiclif was very much more than a religious reformer. Like *iii. Lollardry.* John the Baptist, he came in the spirit and power of Elijah, to indict religious hollowness and to champion social justice—the two being, to him, essentially one. Professor Thorold Rogers lays down the principle that ‘the success of a religious movement has generally, if not invariably, been associated with a movement for improving the moral and secular advantage of those whom it seeks to benefit. In this permanent condition lies the difference between a superstition and a religion, between the slavery and the freedom of dogmas’—a truly weighty plea for a social gospel which is so hopeful a characteristic of modern evangelism.

When Wiclif gave the plain man a vernacular Bible he was not only emancipating him from the spiritual domination of a corrupt priesthood, but he was also inviting him to travel along a pathway which led to freedom in other fields than that of religion. The working classes regarded the Lollard preachers with respect, and even affection, because they were identified with their aspirations after freedom ; and to this is due the fact that the doctrines and spirit of Lollardry, so fiercely persecuted and apparently utterly conquered, lived on during the days of darkness, to re-assert themselves with new vigour under the altered conditions of the sixteenth century.

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

No more than a passing reference can be given to the Great Awakening of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Revival of Learning kindled a new ^{iv. The Great} spirit of eager inquiry; the invention of ^{Awakening.} printing gave to that spirit a new means of expression; the discovery of the New World enlarged the sphere of operation for mind and thought; while in the Reformation we see the new spirit applied to the realm of conscience and of faith. Every one of these forces made for social amelioration, and helped forward the progress from serfdom to citizenship. It was a true instinct which led Felix Mendelssohn to incorporate in his famous *Hymn of Praise*, written for the four hundredth anniversary of Gutenberg's invention: 'The night is departing; therefore let us cast off the works of darkness, and let us gird on the armour of light.'

And what manner of day was it that dawned? As a rule it is unsafe to draw sharp lines of demarcation between period and period, as though the accession of a monarch necessarily marked ^{The New} an epoch. But the Great Awakening in the ^{Régime.} fifteenth century marks an epoch as clearly as does the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth; and the sixteenth century presents quite a different aspect of life from that of the fourteenth. Some elements in this difference call for notice here.

By the time that Elizabeth ascended the throne England had almost ceased to export her wool, having decided to manufacture it for herself instead; and thus, in a sense, it is from that time that ^{i. Dawn of} the history of England as a manufacturing ^{English} country begins. ^{Manufacture,} The Flemish immigration into the Eastern counties in the fourteenth century was, doubt-

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

less, largely responsible for leading the English into this industrial policy, but the atmosphere of conflict which encompassed Flanders during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries conduced to the same end.

But it must not be thought that this change brought with it the growth of large towns, with a consequent exodus from the villages. On the contrary, there is discernible a distinct tendency in the opposite direction—a drift from the towns to the villages. Several considerations contributed to the decay—or at any rate the arrested growth—of the towns of the earlier period. The protection, for instance, formerly afforded by the wall and the guard of the town was no longer needed in the more settled state of society; and the advantages afforded by town residence—e.g. the emancipation of the villein who lived for a year and a day in a town without being claimed by his lord—either no longer existed, or were more than counterbalanced by disadvantages. The guilds had unquestionably done fine service in the early days of industry, existing as they did more for the maintenance of the standard of work than for the safeguarding of wages; but they had outlived their usefulness—and their altruism. It was an age which was convinced that the one route to commercial success was that of monopoly and exclusive rights; and the guilds were no exception to the general rule.

They had been to a great degree instrumental in winning for the towns their rights and liberties; but they lived on to prejudice the welfare of those very towns by their selfish retention of privilege in their own hands; and the history of the borough franchise is the history, only too often, of a selfishness as pitiable as that of the landed interest. And so it is that we find this steady

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

drift from the towns, with their heavy 'charges'—fore-runners of modern rates and taxes—and their guild exclusiveness, to the villages, where development was unfettered; and, moreover, where there was ready to hand that priceless boon—the aid of a running stream to supply what power was needed.

It is in these village industries that we see the foreshadowing of our modern factory system, and it was out of such industrial village settlements that many of our manufacturing towns have developed. Even at the commencement of the sixteenth century we find a master manufacturer who could send a body of a hundred of his weavers to fight at Flodden Field. But it was the factory system freed from its greatest evil: the master of that day was served by men, not 'hands.'

The same period saw the revolution in the conditions of land tenure, partly owing to the extinction of ruling families during the Wars of the Roses, but mostly due to the dissolution of the monasteries. However great may have been the shortcomings of monastic inmates—and it is practically certain that they too had outlived their usefulness, and had degenerated, through sheer prosperity, into worldliness, and in some cases into hideous depravity—there is no room to doubt the baseness of the despot who despoiled them: baseness of motive, of method, and of misappropriation alike. When it is remembered that about one-third of the country was held by the religious houses, it will be easily realized how great must have been the disturbance in land tenure by the ruthless change.

The monastic orders show at their best in their capacity of landed proprietors: they were for the most part wise, considerate, and efficient. They were succeeded

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

by a greedy crew of Protestant lords who made the new faith stink in the land. Not only did they manifest none of that care for the poor which made every monastic brotherhood a guild of help, but in their eagerness to become speedily rich they repudiated the old 'stock and lease' system, in accordance with which a proportion of stock went with the land, and the smaller tenants consequently ran a great risk of being ruined utterly.

Moreover, there was added to this deprivation that of uncertainty of tenure. The Statute of Frauds (1677), enacted 'for the prevention of many fraudulent practices which are commonly endeavoured to be upheld by perjury,' at first seems to be a most excellent measure, until it is realized that its main use was for the ejectment of those who for centuries had held their lands upon customary rent, but had no legal document to prove tenancy.

No surprise can be felt, in face of what has been noted above, that, coincident with these rapacious dealings, the poverty question comes before the Legislature in a more acute form than ever. The robber lords who ruled in the name of Edward VI, and who had so great a share in creating this acute state, were prepared to deal with it in characteristic fashion; and by the

ii. Disturbance of Land Tenure. Vagrant Act of 1548 the landless and destitute poor, made such by spoliation, were to be branded and made to work in chains—a superb piece of constructive statesmanship! In 1562 mayors and churchwardens were ordered to draw up lists of persons able to contribute to the relief of the poor and to inflict penalties for refusal; in 1572 the erection of habitations for the impotent poor and houses of

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

correction for obstinate vagabonds was ordained ; and in 1601 the system was organized on the basis of the responsibility of each parish for its own poor, and overseers were to be appointed for the purpose. But at best the English Poor Law has dealt only with the symptoms, not with the disease ; and at worst has cultivated the disease.

The condition of the working classes under the new régime was not greatly improved, and in many respects was altered for the worse. Wages were controlled by boards of magistrates interested in keeping the labourer poor, and were reduced to starvation rates ; the common rights which the poor had possessed in the feudal days had mostly disappeared, owing to enclosures ; while the Parochial Settlement Act deprived the working man of the right of choosing his place of residence and work, seeing that it authorized the overseers to deport to his place of legal settlement any newcomer who occupied a tenement of less than £10 annual value. The liberalism of the seventeenth century had little or nothing for the agricultural labourer, and be it remembered that the greater proportion of the people were still engaged in agriculture. It was an ardent and notable republican who argued that the people existed only to work, and that philosophical politicians should be enabled to limit their existence by labour. When 'the glorious revolution' of 1689 inaugurated a new age in politics the worker was left just where he was ; and even the Reform Act of 1832 started from the assumption that the State could not be expected to recognize a class until it had acquired a certain modicum of property.

All this time the Law of Conspiracy acted as an

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

effectual check upon every effort of labour to raise its status. Combinations there had been—as we have seen in connexion with the Statute of Labourers—and these existed secretly under the surface for centuries, but they existed at great risks. It was in the eighteenth century that an Act was passed declaring illegal all contracts, except between master and man, for obtaining advances of wages and other things. All meetings having for their purpose any such action were declared illegal, and rewards were to be given to those who gave information to the authorities concerning such meetings. Truly the most marvellous lesson of economic history is the patience and self-control of the common people.

The development of foreign trade must not be passed over without mention. The sixteenth century saw an enormous expansion of English seafaring enterprise. The discoveries of Vasco de Gama, the Cabots, Columbus, and others had greatly widened the horizon, and the necessity of fighting Spain upon the ocean quite consorted with the temper of the times. The bitter struggle against the tyranny of the Duke of Alva impaired the commercial prosperity of Flanders, and London gained much of what Antwerp lost. A noteworthy indication of the development of English shipping is seen in the fact that the Venetian fleet, which had been wont to visit our southern ports every year, spending weeks in exchanging commodities, came for the last time in 1587.

The Great East India Company, which received its charter in 1600, is an evidence of the same fact. The Hanseatic League and the Merchant Adventurers had been pioneers in this policy of joint-stock trading with foreign lands, but the East India Company was destined

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

to distance all in the magnitude of its operations and the importance of its interests. And when, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the supply of large quantities of available capital led to the promotion of many enterprises—some of them inexpressibly foolish—foreign trade is seen to occupy a very prominent part in the programmes put forth.

Nature, art, and sin all had a share in precipitating the industrial crisis which, during the long reign of George III, altered the face of England and the conditions of English life. To take the last first: without going into the rights and wrongs of the wars of the period, the fact remains that it was a period during which we were almost perpetually at war. The king ascended the throne in the midst of struggles in India, Canada, and on the Continent, in two of which we had a vital interest, and in the third we were inevitably involved by reason of our Hanoverian connexion. No sooner had the victories at Plassey and the Heights of Abraham decided the future of India and Canada than we became involved in a discreditable and disastrous quarrel with our American colonists; and the century closed upon a Europe scared by the French Revolution—the Nemesis on centuries of selfishness, tyranny, and tawdry magnificence—and soon to be darkened by the shadow of a greater tyranny, that of Napoleon, the man without a heart. For England the war that raged from 1792–1815 was a war of defence—of her liberties, of her very existence, as well as of the liberties of Europe; but the chief cost fell upon her, innocent though she was, and £600,000,000 was added to the national debt, the burden of which came upon the working classes.

The Industrial
Revolution.
Factors:
i. War.

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

The harvests, moreover, exercised an important influence upon the crisis. There was a great fall of

prices from 1715 to 1765, owing to a sequence
ii. Want. of abundant harvests; and a Parliament dominated by the landed interest voted two millions in eleven years ostensibly to the farmers, but in reality to the landowners, who otherwise would have suffered a shrinkage in their rents. But after 1765 there was an unparalleled succession of bad harvests, until in 1795 wheat stood at 104s. a quarter, and the average for 1800 to 1820 was 98s. 6d. And this rise in prices, added to taxation, completed the miseries of the common people.

It was during this period of warfare and of want that art and man's device revolutionized the conditions of
iii. Inventions. manufacture, and thereby of English life.

The four great inventions of Hargreaves, Cartwright, Crompton, and Arkwright belong to the years 1770 to 1785; James Watt took out his patent for the steam engine in 1769; Wedgwood started in business in 1759; and the production of iron, which in 1740 stood at only 18,000 tons, rose to nearly 70,000 tons in 1788. The effects of these developments were far-reaching and often tragic. Although the ultimate result has been the employment of a vastly increased number of workers, the immediate result was derangement of occupation and acute distress. A machine which does the work of ten men, and can be worked by one, means the temporary ejection of the remaining nine; and even for the one man employed it means the conscious loss of his one possession—his skill as a handicraftsman. Henceforth he will be part of a machine—a thing, a hand. And often the man disappeared, and his place was taken by a woman or a child at starvation wages, and

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

long hours. One cannot be surprised that workers, in a frenzy of wrath, went forth to destroy the 'accursed thing.'

Another result of the Industrial Revolution was the complete redistribution of population and the growth of towns, with all their possibilities for good and evil. No longer was there needed the stream to work the water-wheel; industry was untrammelled as to location, except in so far as the heavier industries were affected by the proximity of fields of coal and ore. Hence, whereas in 1750, Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts figured as great centres of industrial activity, and Staffordshire was practically empty, in less than a century the activity which was formerly confined to the counties south of Birmingham—except for a portion of Lancashire and Yorkshire—was almost as entirely transferred to the north; and the population, instead of being scattered over countless villages, was massed in towns.

This alteration in the centre of gravity of population has not been without its beneficial aspects, and with a reference to some of the resultant ameliorations of industrial life this historical sketch must be brought to a close. The age of helpless isolation is over; and it is a strange coincidence—if it be a coincidence, and no more—that all the most significant advances towards citizenship should have taken place side by side with the urban growths referred to above. From 1852, the date of Sir Robert Peel's Health and Morals Act, onwards to our own time, there has been an unbroken succession of enactments, known generically as the Factory Acts, based upon the recognition of mutual responsibility, and aimed at the imperative business of safeguarding the worker—whether above ground or in mines—against the oppression of vested interests.

FROM SERF TO CITIZEN

Furthermore, in 1824, the Conspiracy Act was repealed; and although the advantage of the repeal was minimized often by grudging administration, **Ameliorations.** the first step was taken towards emancipation. From that time combinations of workers, though still largely debarred from action, were able to make their influence felt in the agitations which culminated in the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. No one will deny that that measure was very tentative in character, and that it gave no recognition to the working classes; but it broke the long monopoly of the propertied classes, both in town and country, and thereby prepared for the more truly representative franchise of our own day. The people had not yet entered the Promised Land; but they had escaped from Egypt and had left the wilderness behind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Short History of Citizenship. N. O. Newland. (E. Stock, 2s. 6d.)
Brief but useful.

The Industrial History of England. H. De B. Gibbins, M.A.
(Methuen, 2s. 6d.)

A masterly little survey from earliest days to the Victorian era.

The Rise of Democracy. J. Holland Rose, M.A. (Blackie, 2s. 6d.)
Deals with the political movements of the working classes.

Social England. 6 vols. H. D. Traill, M.A. (Cassell & Co.,
14s. net per vol.)

A fine work, in which the varied aspects of social life are treated by specialists and experts.

Six Centuries of Work and Wages. Thorold Rogers. (Sonnenschein
& Co., 10s. 6d.)

Unrivalled upon its own subject.

CHAPTER II
THE CALL
AND CREDENTIALS OF
SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

HARRY BISSEKER, M.A.
LEYSIAN MISSION, LONDON

The great subject of the teaching of Jesus is, not a soul's salvation, but that of a kingdom of souls. It is more than man's own good, which, by itself, is not his highest blessing; it is 'joy in widest commonalty spread.'

DR. JAMES ROBERTSON.

Few more fruitful principles are contained in the gospel of Jesus than this, that the worth and welfare of the human soul are of such inestimable importance that the individual should not be made the slave of the institutions that men establish.

DR. ORELLO CONE.

CHAPTER II

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

We are to labour as constantly and as diligently for the improvement of the social order as for the conversion of man. The success of our Christian work largely depends upon maintaining the equilibrium between the two kinds of activity.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

THERE are two considerations to which every thoughtful follower of Jesus Christ at the beginning of the twentieth century is bound by his vows of loyalty to devote earnest and instant attention.

The first of these is the fact that social questions have begun to assume a prominent place among the life-interests of the nation. The problems themselves, of course, are not new. It is difficult to sum up in a sentence the state of things around us; but let it be said briefly that, after centuries of Christian influence, thousands of our fellows are living in 'homes' in which we should be ashamed to keep our dogs; that thousands more are by their hours and conditions of labour subjected to an existence but little preferable to one of slavery; that even hundreds of thousands are compelled by poverty so to live that through starvation and insanitation physical health is already shattered in childhood's days, while a

*The Emergence
of Social
Questions.*

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

life of moral purity is for many rendered wellnigh an impossibility. The conditions themselves, we have said, are not new. But at last these ugly truths have begun to touch the conscience of the country, and during the next few years an honest attempt to face them and to discover solutions of the grave difficulties they present, will unquestionably be the distinguishing mark of our domestic history.

The second fact which we dare not disregard is the existence of a tendency to separate the cause of Social Reform (that is to say, the prominent and progressive cause in England in the course of the present decade) from the cause of Christianity. This tendency is two-fold.

Twofold
Tendency to
sever the Cause
of Social
Progress from
Christianity.

On the one hand, while many devoted servants of Christ are convinced that His adherents must yield to no one in their protest against, and their efforts to abolish, conditions so opposed to His will and so inconsistent with the life He has called men to live, others, no less sincere, regard such an attitude with suspicion and even with dismay. Though they are in general sympathy with the idea of social progress, they fear lest, if Christian workers give thought and labour to this cause, the Church will be diverted from her spiritual mission. Accordingly some, themselves generous supporters of private charity, are holding aloof from the social *movement*, while others are actively assailing those to whom, for Christ's sake, that movement has become a sacred trust.

On the other hand, as all know who are in close touch with the facts, there exists a grave danger lest modern Christianity should lose the confidence of our large and increasing army of social reformers. Ardent workers, at

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

present outside the Church but intensely devoted to the destruction of evils which Christ's teaching uncompromisingly condemns, are at a loss to understand the attitude of men who, professing His Name, are yet able to view those evils with such apparent indifference. So little have the majority of Christ's followers not merely assailed, but even studied, the existing state of things, that at last their unconcern is beginning to impress the masses of the people, and to cause some of their valued leaders to discredit a faith which teaches one way of life and so calmly allows its very opposite.

In a word, many Christians are suspicious of connecting social reform with Christianity, and many social reformers are suspicious of associating Christianity with social progress. Thus alike inside and outside the Church a tendency to separation is being fostered.

Even a little thought will reveal how serious are the issues involved in such a position. The severance of these two great causes would expose each to consequences of such gravity as to be scarcely capable of exaggeration. *For social reformers to separate themselves from Christianity would be to abandon the only power which can transform their ideals into realities. For Christian workers to regard social conditions as outside the sphere of their activity and influence would be to betray a maimed conception of the teaching of their Lord and a partial appreciation of the meaning of His life and death.*

The misunderstanding on both sides has a common origin. Representatives of each extreme have drawn too sharp a line of distinction between the 'religious' and the 'social' spheres of life. The object of the present chapter is to show that it is possible both for the Christian worker and for the social reformer to assign this distinc-

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

tion an untrue emphasis, and, by so doing, to impede the cause he is seeking to advance. For in our complex human life the 'social' and the 'spiritual' are so closely related that neither is really independent of the other. The cause of Social Reform cannot afford to do without Christianity, and Christianity cannot rightly disown Social Reform.

It should be recognized alike by social reformers and by those who are called more specifically 'religious' workers that social service, divorced from the power of Christianity, is destined to meet with only a partial and limited success. Bold though such a statement may appear, a little thought will reveal its justification.

In the first place, there is no incentive for the social worker comparable with that which is derived, consciously or unconsciously, from Christianity. This was true in the past: it is still true to-day. The most successful leaders of the cause have owed their inspiration, in some cases directly, in others indirectly, to the religion of Jesus Christ. It would, of course, be altogether untrue to fact to suggest that the spirit of love was first given to the world by the Carpenter of Nazareth. No sober student of history will deny that centuries before His birth a true and tender philanthropy was practised by many peoples and in many lands. It is, however, equally impossible to doubt that among the influences which have contributed to the cause of social progress, the power of Christianity stands alone—incomparably first. It is to its spirit that we owe—to mention but a few reforms—the abolition of slavery, the cleansing of the prisons, the care of the sick-poor, the abolition of infanticide, the exaltation of

**I. The Power
of Christianity
essential to
the truest
Social Reform.**

**Its Inspiration
needed:
i. By the
Social Worker.**

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

womanhood, the improvement in conditions of labour, and, in general, the birth of our modern concern for the down-trodden masses dwelling in our great cities. The religion of Jesus Christ, in a word, has proved itself the most potent factor first in the formation, and then in the realization, of the world's highest social ideals. And so clear is this contention that even those who do not own allegiance to Him, cordially admit its truth.¹

And the power of Christianity still forms, as it has formed in the past, the chief source of inspiration for social service. 'The *power* of Christianity,' be it noted, not its *dogmas*. While we certainly owe to those dogmas the lofty conceptions of human, as well as of divine, nature which form the basis of our high hopes for humanity, it is in no sense suggested that the truest social service may not be, and is not being, rendered by those who call themselves 'agnostics.' But we do contend, and contend emphatically, that the chief *power* for service in this sphere comes from the Man of Nazareth. Such service involves, at its beginning, a deep, unselfish interest in the welfare of others ; and, in its continuance—necessitating, as it must, a careful study of facts and theories, as well as a constant and painful self-identification with the sorrows of others—a strong and self-forgetful patience. This interest and this

¹ Cf., for example, John Morley's estimate of Gladstone: 'It was religious motive that, through a thousand avenues and channels, stirred him and guided him in his whole conception of active social duty' (*Life of Gladstone*, i. 200). Cf. also the tribute of Robert Blatchford to Christianity: 'Almost every noble action and sweet personality of these centuries has come of it. A very great deal of our progress has come of it. All the mercy and patience we have in the present, and all the hope we have in the future, have come of it' (cited from *The Methodist Times*, February 15th, 1906).

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

patience can be learnt, as nowhere else, at the feet of Christ. The agnostic himself cannot say to how great an extent he has derived them—though it were unconsciously—from His life and teaching. And even if this were not the case, and it could be shown that here and there an individual worker had, without the indirect inspiration of Jesus, attained to the necessary unselfishness, it yet remains that we shall never, apart from that inspiration, find great masses of workers actuated by a similar self-forgetfulness. We need only an appeal to history to show how often a great man's work has failed to achieve permanence because he lacked the power to hand on to his humbler followers the spirit which had prompted his own achievements. A patient, unfaltering unselfishness is one of the most difficult virtues to acquire. The world knows only one power that can ensure it. Alike for the first enthusiasm, therefore, and for the effective continuance of his service, the social worker needs the inspiration of Christianity.

It is not in its workers alone that the cause of social service requires the power of Christianity. A necessary condition of every broad and really effective scheme of reform is that the nation as a whole shall be permeated with a spirit of genuine unselfishness. Legislation can never be far in advance of public opinion. The social cause, if it is to thrive, demands a certain environment—an environment of which the chief characteristic is an honest recognition of the brotherhood of man. If its victory is to be won other than by a grievous and wicked class-war, *the average citizen must be taught to identify himself with his fellow citizen's interests to a degree of unselfishness which is at present far from being realized.* And this practical

ii. By the
Nation as
a whole.

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

confession of the brotherhood of man, requisite as it is in the community as a whole,¹ is especially necessary in certain of its sections. If—to offer a specific example of this need—careful investigation showed that a sane and healthy social life can be open to all only at the sacrifice of some special interests of our big capitalists and land-owners, a spirit of no ordinary unselfishness would have to prevail, in order that the necessary social readjustment might be accomplished without class enmity and strife.

It will scarcely be denied that to expect the unselfishness essential to such a sacrifice, apart from the spirit of Christ, would be quixotic and ridiculous. A ready proof of this lies in the fact that to many the mere suggestion of such a sacrifice will appear wild and even revolutionary. It is only as Christ's teaching is accepted that the brotherhood of man becomes a practicable creed and a peaceable settlement of social difficulties comes within the range of possibility. And it is the keenest observers of life who recognize this most clearly.

A suggestive illustration of this fact is worthy of reproduction. The scene was a little Swiss hotel. The speakers were three Englishmen.

'This brotherhood of man,' exclaimed one of them—a brilliant Oxford graduate and a Civil Servant—'is a beautiful ideal. In my own young days I accepted it frankly, and believed in treating every man as an equal. But experience of the world has shaken the belief, and to-day, though I still see the beauty of the ideal, I hold it to be utterly impracticable.'

Some one, in reply, mentioned the name of Christ.

¹ For the gospel of Brotherhood lays its obligation on the poor as well as on the rich. Each must strive to see the standpoint of the other, and to safeguard what is right in the other's interests.

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

'Ah!' broke in the first speaker, 'if you bring Christ in, that makes a difference. If we lived by His teaching, I quite agree, it *would* be possible.'

The admission has a weighty significance. It represents the view, not of some biased Christian apologist, but of a clever, accomplished man of the world, who had himself, as he thought, cast off the social creed which he thus unconsciously defended. Indeed, the more closely the complex social problem is studied, the clearer it becomes that a peaceable solution will be found only when every man has learnt, not in a foolish, sentimental sense, but in a very real and practical manner, to regard every other man as his brother. And that gospel of brotherhood, as our Oxford critic rightly contended, is impracticable apart from the power of Christianity.

And if the cause of social service demands the spirit and power of Christianity both in its workers and in the nation as a whole, no less does it require them in the lives of those who are the victims of our present unrighteous conditions. What-

iii. By the
Victim of
Social
Conditions.

ever difference of opinion there may be as to the need of Christ in the two former cases, in these poor sufferers the need of Him is self-evident. For it must be recognized as a kind of first principle of social progress that *a change in social conditions, in order to be permanent and therefore in any real sense effective, will often necessitate a corresponding change in character.* It will be shown a little later to how serious and even startling an extent the character of men and women is being moulded by the social conditions that prevail. But while that aspect of the question merits, and will receive, strong emphasis in its own place, we must not forget also that character is admittedly a cause as well as an effect of environment ;

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

and that, in so far as this is the case, no scheme of amelioration which omits to deal with people's character as well as with their surroundings, is capable of yielding a complete and final solution of the problem.

This principle is so important that one or two simple illustrations may well be added to enforce its truth.

One part of the Housing Problem, for example, consists in the fact that families are living, herded together, in places where filth abounds and sanitation is at a discount. It can scarcely be expected that in such localities habits of order and cleanliness will be the rule. Now public or private enterprise may intervene, may destroy the slum area, may erect healthy premises and transplant the slum-dwellers into a new abode. Will such a scheme, valuable as it is, prove by itself a solution of the housing problem for the people concerned? Certainly not. As experience has shown, unless, while changing their surroundings, the reformer changes also the character of these people, the old habit of dirt and insanitation—and, without careful supervision, of overcrowding also—will reappear in the new abodes, and thus will simply neutralize the good effects of what might otherwise have been a useful piece of reformation. In other words, *the social remedy apart from an accompanying remedy for character will prove inadequate.*

In the same way, to offer one more example, it is possible to advance the cause of Temperance Reform by a comprehensive scheme for the reduction of licences. But only the superficial student of this question will claim that such a scheme alone would provide a real and final solution of the problem of intemperance. It would certainly effect a considerable reduction in the amount of alcohol consumed, but if it left only one licensed

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

house in every town or village, the poorer drunkard could yet find more than enough liquor to satisfy his craving, and the richer drunkard would still be able to keep an overstocked cellar at home. Every method of dealing with this grave social problem, however valuable, must prove insufficient which does not go to the root of the evil and deal with the craving for drink in the individual himself. The drunkard must from some source receive *power to resist* his craving: without that no legislative action can render him secure. In other words, again, *the social remedy apart from an accompanying remedy for character, will prove inadequate.* Examples of this kind—and many more might be added—render it plain that in really effective social service a change of character must frequently be added to the change of environment. And where, it may be confidently asked, is there a power to transform human lives—to make the drunkard temperate and the immoral man pure—that can rival the power of the living Christ? Is there, indeed, hope for the weak and vicious apart from Him?

To sum up, therefore, whether we consider the social worker himself, or the nation to whose will he must appeal, or the men and women whom he is seeking to uplift, the cause of social service needs the motive power of Christianity. Without that power—consciously or unconsciously derived from the personal Christ—it is destined to only a partial success. But in that power—in the unselfishness it inspires and its grace transforming human character—lies the chief hope of perfect social relationships. When Burke was contemplating the abolition of slavery, he used words which every reformer would be wise to ponder: 'I confess,' he said, 'I trust infinitely more (according to the sound principles of those who ever have

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

at any time meliorated the state of mankind) to the effect and influence of religion than to all the rest of the regulations put together.'¹ Truly, the world's hopes for real social advancement lie in the principles and practice of religion.

Such teaching has a meaning for two groups of workers.

To those of us who are Christians it brings a challenge. The great cause of the people needs our help. Without the power of Christ it can never win a complete and final victory. And we, who love Christ—dare we disregard its appeal to our sympathy and service? We dare not. For in the cry of the suffering we hear His call.

To those who are merely social reformers it brings a warning. Their great cause will be impaired—vitality impaired—if Christianity is omitted from their programme. *For to separate their cause from that of Christianity would be to abandon the only power which can transform its ideals into realities.*

If social service cannot afford to dispense with Christianity, neither can Christianity afford to disavow social service. This is the truth which, in II. A Social Application an Essential Part of Christianity. the second portion of this chapter, we would with much respect, and yet with unflinching firmness, urge upon those devoted Christians to whom the advance of Social Christianity² affords no little ground for suspicion.

¹ Cited from Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, i. 25; cf. the words of a German scholar, quoted by Peabody (*Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, p. 60): 'Whosoever would understand the social question and would contribute to its solution, must have on his right hand the works of political economy, on his left those of scientific socialism, and before him must keep open the New Testament.'

² It is important to understand that the expression 'Social Christianity' signifies, not a view of Christianity which assigns it

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

This truth is, in the first place, involved in the principles of our Saviour's teaching and life. What was the

i. Social
Christianity
involved in
Christ's own
Teaching and
Life.

nature of His message to the world? It was, first and foremost, a *spiritual* message. The spiritual nature of God, the spiritual nature of man, and the spiritual nature of the life that may unite God and man—these were the deep truths He came to deliver. It was, we repeat, unquestionably a spiritual message. And many of

His Teaching.

His followers are content to stop at that point. To do so is to show but a partial understanding of His teaching. Such a conception of it is true so far as it goes, but it is only a portion of the truth. The whole truth about His teaching is this—it was a *spiritual message with a social application*. The superficial distinction, with which we are so sadly familiar to-day, between 'spiritual' and 'social' is impressively absent from the words of Jesus. While no religious teacher has thrown so much light on the 'spiritual' side of the religious life, neither has any so clearly and consistently emphasized its 'social' obligations. Strict limitation of space forbids us to offer detailed illustration of this, but abundant evidence is available, and the reader's own knowledge of Christ's teaching will at once suggest it to his mind. It is impossible to ignore our Lord's repeated insistence on man's duty to his fellow man,¹ and—what is even more striking—the marked prominence He assigns that duty in the religious life.

a social as *distinct from* a spiritual purpose, but rather that complete conception of Christianity which, while emphasizing primarily its spiritual meaning, recognizes as part of its essence its social application *also*.

¹ Matt. vii. 12 ; John xv. 12.

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

For not merely does He place love of neighbour along with love of God as the supreme obligation of religion,¹ but He also regards the second as insincere without the first, and even teaches that the expression of the heavenly love is to be found most truly in the earthly love.²

We have no right, therefore, even if we had the desire, to eliminate this social aspect of Christ's teaching. In that teaching, as John Morley has well said, 'many secret elements of social volcano slumber.'³ To assign those elements the first place and reduce Christ to a mere enunciator of social principles, would be an act of simply childish criticism. In so far as a distinction between 'spiritual' and 'social' may for convenience be allowed, the 'spiritual' element holds the chief place in His message. But if the 'spiritual' is basal in His teaching, the 'social' also is of its very essence. We cannot omit it and yet profess to have accepted His message in its entirety.

The truth thus involved in our Lord's teaching is involved no less in His example. A person's actions are often of even greater significance than his words. Therefore we dare not overlook His Example. the fact that Jesus came 'preaching the gospel *and healing all manner of disease.*' He Himself regarded this 'social' service as an essential part of His mission. It is luminously suggestive that, when challenged as to His claim of Messiahship, He deliberately based His title on His power to satisfy the 'social' needs of men, as well as on His preaching of the gospel.⁴ Thoughtfully considered, this reply to the Baptist is so startling as to make us pause, and it would be well if those who

¹ Matt. xxii. 34-40.

³ *Life of Gladstone*, i. 204.

² Matt. xxv. 40, 45.

⁴ Matt. xi. 2-6.

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

are inclined to condemn Social Christianity would first ponder its meaning. We have not yet exhausted the significance of the miracles of Christ. They formed part of His credentials not merely as being 'wonders,' but even more as being 'signs.' If He is indeed—as we believe Him to be—the Saviour for whom the world has waited—the Saviour of man, and not only of man's soul—He must show that there is no human need which He cannot satisfy, and no realm of human experience which is outside His sphere of working. In His claim to be the all-sufficient Saviour, therefore, He includes with His power to meet men's spiritual needs His power to deal with their 'social' evils also.

Let one point be clearly understood before we pass on. Christ made no attempt either in His social teaching or in His social service to offer specific solutions for particular problems. His method was rather to lay down fundamental principles. At the same time, He was never weary of insisting on the social application of those principles. And—as even the fragmentary review we have been able to take will suggest—alike in His teaching and in His action that social application was no mere accidental afterthought, but an essential part of His mission. So far, therefore, is the social application of Christianity from impeding its spiritual mission, that its withdrawal from the Christian programme would involve a failure to understand our Lord's whole message to the world, and to appreciate the full significance of His work upon earth. In other words, it is not the adherents of Social Christianity who are wishful of adding something to the Christian programme: it is their opponents who are in danger of handing on Christ's own ideal in an incomplete and impoverished form.

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

The second ground on which Christianity cannot afford to disown social service lies in the close connexion that exists between social conditions and spiritual life.¹ It is because this connexion is so vividly manifest to them that those Christian workers who know the life of the people at first hand are, almost without exception, ardent believers in Social Christianity. A few weeks' honest work in a slum soon reveals how short-sighted and superficial is the distinction drawn between the 'social' and the 'spiritual' spheres of Christian service. The truth is that in thousands of lives the two spheres so interpenetrate as to be inextricably linked together. While, as we recognized above, sin is often the cause of social conditions, social conditions are also often the cause of sin. After full allowance has been made for the part played by personal wrongdoing, there remain men and women and little children whose social conditions leave them no reasonable human chance of a healthy spiritual life. *Our social problems are responsible for many of our moral and spiritual problems.*

ii. Spiritual
Issues involved
in Social
Conditions.

This point is so important as to demand clear illustration. Let the reader consider one or two specific cases.

To our infinite shame as a nation, we have in our midst women who can keep a roof over their heads and life in their poor, fragile bodies only by working twelve, fourteen, sixteen and even eighteen hours a day! When the minimum for rent and clothing has been deducted, the wages paid—one shilling, tenpence, and even less for such a day's toil—leave but a few

Sweating and
Intemperance.

¹ Students of the Old Testament will remember how clearly, if implicitly, this connexion is recognized in the Jewish law.

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

pence for food, and that must necessarily be of a poor and innutritious kind. Moreover, the task, as close and exacting as it is protracted, has to be carried on, not in a light and well-ventilated room, but in a close and tiny garret, which is probably the sleeping-room as well as the workshop. Think what it means. Sixteen or eighteen hours of arduous labour, poor food, bad air; a short and restless sleep, and then a return to the same dull, monotonous task, day after day, week after week, year after year; no pleasure, no relaxation, no prospect but, some day, a coffin and a quiet grave. Is it any wonder that at times the strain becomes literally intolerable; that the poor broken nerves rebel; that the life so grey and dismal demands *some* excitement, though but for a moment? And the means are to hand. Tea is often out of the question. The slave-driver cannot spare his victim time, in the midst of her work, to 'boil a kettle.' But the public-house is near, and the drink is cheap. So in many a case our sister—a year ago, perhaps, a bright and hopeful girl—begins to take the seductive liquor—judge her not, reader: only God knows if you and I, driven as she is, would not do the same—and the end of the story is a degraded womanhood and a drunkard's funeral.

O God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!

And our sister's fall? It was due to our modern social conditions. She drank, not because at the first she had the drunkard's appetite, but because the spiritual in her was ground down and crushed by the social slavery to which we had left her. *Her sin lies at our doors in so far as we failed to do what we could to win for her social conditions which would have given her spiritual life a chance.*

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

A second illustration may be added. It is not an easy one to mention ; but it is chosen because, more vividly perhaps than any other, it will help ^{Housing and Social Purity.} Christian people to realize how intimately spiritual and social problems are related. Our housing conditions constitute another form of England's disgrace. In thousands of houses it is the custom—either through poverty or through scarcity of accommodation—for many families to live crowded together. Attention has recently been called, for example, to a house in which no fewer than thirteen families made their home. It thus becomes a regular habit, and even an inevitable necessity, for the same room to be occupied at night by men, women and children of all ages. Obviously, decency is rendered impossible. As a direct result of such indiscriminate overcrowding, hundreds of poor girls are on the streets to-day who lost their chastity almost before they were old enough to understand its possession. This is not a pleasant subject ; but we are simply mentioning, as delicately as possible, a fact which is a commonplace of knowledge among those who are in touch with realities in our modern social life. And it is time that such facts were known by Christian people, and that the Church of Christ, laying aside all false sense of shame, had the courage to speak out very clearly concerning them. These poor girls—God care for them!—were once as pure as the sisters of our own homes, and but for our modern social conditions might still be as pure. They fell, not because at first they had an appetite for vice, but because we left them in their innocent childhood to grow up in an environment where escape from shame would have been almost miraculous. *Their sin also lies at our doors in so far as we failed to do what we*

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

could to win for them social conditions which would have given their spiritual life a chance.

The harassed woman carried to a drunkard's grave, and the frail young girl driven to end her life in the dark river, are only two out of many cases in which the spiritual life has been frustrated by social conditions. But even these will suffice to indicate to what an extent the spiritual and the social life are interwoven, and how impossible it is for workers to separate them, as it were, into water-tight compartments.

Our common-sense observation of life, therefore, as well as reverence for our Lord's own teaching and example, demands that, *as Christians*, we should make these grave social problems our serious concern. From party politics the Church, as a Church, must keep herself studiously aloof. Such problems, for example, as those of Home Rule and Protection lie outside her province, and for her to deal with them in her corporate capacity is to degrade her lofty mission. But the problems of our modern social life are of a different order. They lie essentially within her province. The issues involved are moral and spiritual, and it is her simple duty to guard them. The excuse that attention to these grave questions would hinder her spiritual service, however natural on first thoughts, is seen, on closer study of the facts, to be untenable. In our complex life the spiritual is too closely wrapped up in the social to permit us to draw boundary-lines with such exact definition. Least of all have we a right to base our neglect of social problems upon our devotion to Christ. Few excuses could ring so hollow. It is precisely our devotion to Christ that should claim us for Christian social service. For consider what such an excuse really means. Here, stricken by the

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

wayside, lie two of the victims of our social conditions—the one poor girl ruined by a life of drunkenness ; the other degraded by a life of shame. Here they lie, their sweet womanhood crushed, their pure souls blighted, their pitiful case pleading not merely for remedial measures for themselves, but for a change of the conditions by which such types are daily being created. The Christian worker draws near. He sees their sad plight. He halts and ponders. He shakes his head in pity. He even feels it right to show sympathy for the particular victims who have already fallen. But as for the plea, so persuasively afforded by their state, that Christian workers should unite to alter what is bringing others to the same disaster, *he passes by on the other side*. And why? He tells us that his love of Christ requires it! In the name of all that is sacred, was it not Christ who spake the parable of the Good Samaritan? Was it not the disciple nearest to Christ's heart who taught that the claim to love God, and yet neglect our neighbour, is a LIE? Was it not to save us from such sins as have laid these frail victims low, that this same Christ died upon the hill of Calvary? *The love of Christ* requires us, so far as the causes of such tragedies are concerned, to play the part of priest and Levite? Away with such blasphemy! We challenge any man to bow in spirit at the foot of the Cross, and repeat such an excuse to the Saviour Himself. Rather, the more we revere the Cross of Christ, the greater is our obligation to challenge every condition of life which perpetuates the sin from which He died to save us. Even though our modern social conditions were merely a source of misery, we ought, as Christians, to condemn them. But, inasmuch as they are also a source of sin, in the name

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

of Christ they demand our direct and unwavering opposition. In the spiritual, as well as in the physical realm, it is the physician's duty not alone to heal such as have fallen victims to a grievous malady, but also to secure that the source of infection itself shall be removed.

Thus, what we plead for is not a social *instead* of a spiritual Christianity: it is a social *because* a spiritual Christianity. The religion of Christ is confessedly for all men. If, therefore, it requires that we ourselves should lead a spiritual life, by that very fact it teaches also our obligation to see that others have a chance of leading it. We need not, in seeking to fulfil this obligation, fear for the spiritual part of our trust. No ideals are too spiritual to permeate the whole of life. One of the striking characteristics of those revealed by Jesus was that there is no condition of life to which they may not be applied. We cannot emphasize the spiritual element in life too strongly, but if our spirituality is either self-centred in its bearing on our own lives or short-sighted in our thought for the lives of others, we may be sure that it is not the spirituality of Christ.

Nor must we overlook, in conclusion, two other considerations which expose the error of basing our neglect of social evils upon our spiritual love of Christ. To adopt such an attitude is, in the first place, to disregard the existence of social sin. It is possible for the community, as well as for the individual, to do wrong, and sin is always sin, no less when it is 'social' than when it is 'personal.' It is as immoral for England in her corporate life as it is for individual Englishmen, to countenance greed and cruelty and horrible injustice. We need to banish such comfortable words as 'custom'

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

and 'misfortune' and 'regrettable necessity' from our study of social conditions, and to call things by their right name. That name is SIN. To use it will clear our ideas, for can the servant of Christ really abstain from denouncing SIN on the ground that he calls himself a 'spiritual' man? The simple truth is that it is the *duty* of the Christian Church to fight whatever is wrong in our social system. It is also her wisdom; for to a degree which is not yet clearly recognized, her attitude to these grave social problems will determine the place she is to hold in future years among the masses of the people, and to fail in her sympathy with the oppressed and in her denunciation of that which makes for injustice and impurity, would be to fall behind discredited and disowned. That fact, however, though startlingly true, is not our ground of argument. Whether she gains or loses by her action is beside the question. The point is that to see that greed and cruelty are assailed, and that all which breeds unholiness and shame is destroyed, is her DUTY. Such a course is RIGHT. We need no other argument. National and social righteousness are as truly the Church's concern as is the righteousness of individual men.

And, in the second place, we cannot but point out that the Christian's neglect of social service for the reason alleged amounts to an unlawful limitation of our Saviour's sphere of influence. Modern social conditions really constitute a direct challenge to Christ. If Christianity is, as we claim it to be, God's message for the whole of life, it must have something to say in the presence of such evils as these. We must beware of making a Christianity too little for the world's needs. It is ours, rather, to claim life in its entirety for Christ, and to assert that there is no sphere in which His voice

THE CALL AND CREDENTIALS

is to be unheard and His authority unrecognized. To admit this is to allow the claims of social service. No 'spiritual' Christian can pray, 'Our Father, which art in Heaven' without adding 'Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth,' and in a moment he is in the midst of 'social' considerations. For if Christ is the Saviour of the world in the fullest and profoundest sense, His kingdom must come in the social, as in every other realm. To ask less is to fail to apprehend His full significance to the world.

That full significance we are bound in loyalty to maintain. Despite Christ's warning to the Baptist, given under similar circumstances,¹ our attitude may for the moment be viewed with suspicion. That need cause us no dismay. Such suspicion has arisen whenever Christianity has just been brought into active association with some new realm of ideas. It was so in the second century when the Church came into close contact with philosophy. It was so in the nineteenth century when she had to face the new revelations of natural science. In either case grave fears arose lest the need of defining her attitude to these new realms of thought should rival, and so impede, her spiritual mission to the world. And yet from either contact Christianity issued, not impoverished, but unspeakably enriched. In each case a new realm had been captured for Christ, and in the process Christianity had been seen to contain far more than its earlier adherents had apprehended. To-day Christianity is confronted by a third set of problems—the problems of modern social conditions. The issue must be faced. Christianity is bound to define its attitude to the grave problems presented. Nor need the issue be feared. As

¹ Matt. xi. 6.

OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

in all previous crises, so now, if the Church does her duty, she will come forth only strengthened. This realm, as every realm, we must claim for Christ, and in doing so we shall recognize a new and wider meaning in the faith we have embraced.

The contention of the second part of this chapter, therefore, is as urgent as that of the first. Not only will the cause of social regeneration fail to realize its ideals without the power of Christianity, but also, in view both of the teaching and example of our Lord and of His full significance to our complex human life, no Church which neglects the 'social' aspect of her duty is able to give to the world an adequate expression of Christianity.

The teaching of the whole chapter can be summed up in a very few words. The tendency to separate the cause of Christianity from the cause of social progress demands unwavering opposition on either part. There *must* be both a spiritual element in our social service and a social application of our spiritual creed. For to cleave to the one without the other is to overlook the full significance of each, and to condemn the first cause to failure and the second to a merely partial self-expression.

Conclusion.

SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tools and the Man. Washington Gladden. (J. Clarke, 3s. 6d.)

A brilliant exposition of the relations of Christianity to social reform. American.

Christianity and Social Problems. Lyman Abbott. (J. Clarke, 3s. 6d.)

An excellent discussion from an American point of view.

Jesus Christ and the Social Problem. F. G. Peabody. (Macmillan, 6s.)

Also American. An able and slightly conservative, yet sympathetic, study of the social teaching of Christ.

The Church and Social Problems. A. Scott Matheson. (Oliphant, 3s. 6d.)

An older but very useful survey of the Church's duty in relation to nearly every aspect of the social question.

The Christian Society. G. A. Herron. (J. Clarke, 2s. 6d.)

An impassioned and rhetorical exposition of Social Christianity from the point of view of the Cross.

Social Aspects of Christianity. Westcott. (Macmillan, 6s.)

CHAPTER III
JOHN WESLEY AND
SOCIAL SERVICE

J. ERNEST RATTENBURY,
CENTRAL MISSION, NOTTINGHAM

By way of his return to the New Testament conception of God, and of intrinsic religion, Wesley made a decided and prophetic approach to the social ideal of Jesus.

DR. CLIFFORD.

Methodism must do for the masses what John Wesley did. We shall have to denounce the competition which means a curse, to denounce the sweating which means the degradation of the poor.

PETER THOMPSON.

CHAPTER III

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

We cannot, consistently with brotherly love, sell our goods below market price ; we cannot study to ruin our neighbour's trade in order to advance our own.

JOHN WESLEY.

IT is fitting that the handbook of the Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service should contain some account of the social service of historic Methodism. The object of this chapter is to state the social sympathies, opinions, and suggestions of John Wesley, and to indicate some of their recent developments.

I

Mr. Richard Heath¹ asks how it was that Wesley and Whitefield were not affected by the democratic movement of the eighteenth century. He makes reference to Wesley's well-known advocacy of the policy of George III in relation to the North American colonies. He commits himself to the following extraordinary words: 'If Thomas Scott, the commentator, had given the keynote to evangelical politics instead of Wesley, Whitefield, and Howell Harris, the attitude of evangelicalism to the social democratic movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would probably

¹ *Captive City of God*, pp. 22-4.

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

have been much more truly Christian. Scott told the England of 1793 that it was doubtful if it was so much less criminal than France. "In vain," he cried, "do we fast and pray unless we loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." While it is not the purpose of this chapter to underrate the democratic sympathies of Thomas Scott, it will fail in its object if it does not show the utter baselessness of Mr. Richard Heath's general strictures on John Wesley.

However true it may be of some of Wesley's followers that 'their individualist philosophy of life raised an almost impenetrable wall around their mental horizon,' it is singularly untrue of Wesley himself.

II

Wesley was a child of his age. He never entirely escaped from the ritualistic and Tory trammels of his nursery and university. His life is the long-continued story of a great deliverance. Part of his royalist creed he always retained. Several of his writings show that he thought 'the king can do no wrong.' He wrote a pamphlet, *Should Clergymen Preach Politics?* He claims that they should when politics mean a defence of the king. It is interesting to note that modern Methodists follow an ancient tradition when they claim that Conservative politics are not politics, but one's plain duty to king and state.

Wesley believed it his duty to defend the king under all circumstances. He resented, most deeply, the charge of sedition, and emphasized the loyalty of his followers. But it is a great mistake to suppose that Wesley's adherence to a royalist position really influenced his general social outlook.

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

There is only one other class of statement which would substantiate such a view. In a sermon on 'National Sins and Miseries,' he shows deep sympathy with the unemployed, but also displays a great abhorrence for the shrieking of the word 'Liberty! Liberty!' His dislike of the word as a catchword manifests itself in those various 'calm' or 'serious' addresses of his to England and Ireland. That this is not inconsistent with social sympathies may be evidenced by a careful reading of John Ruskin, who disliked the word as much as Wesley, and makes severe criticism of John Stuart Mill's views on the subject, and yet stands out as one of the most advanced social reformers of the age. Wesley's well-known description of slavery as the sum of all the villanies shows he really cared for liberty as a reality, though he disliked it as a party cry.

III

Wesley, in most senses, is intensely modern in his social opinions. It is true he is an individualist. But his individualism is guarded by so many social and religious considerations as to rob it of its sting. He lived before the days of Socialism, and yet there are adumbrations of Socialism in his words and in his works. If Wesley's social views were what they were in the comparatively simple life of the eighteenth century, it is difficult to think of him as standing anywhere but in the forefront of social reform had he lived in the highly complex social life of the twentieth century. The present writer speaks for himself when he ventures the deliberate opinion that he would have been a Socialist.

Wesley and
Social Con-
ditions.

Wesley's general outlook on life was that of a broad

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

and cultured mind. He was in no sense the victim of a narrow individualistic evangelism. He was essentially a man of his time. He was a man of one book, because he read so many books. His evangelistic work took a permanent hold upon the nation, because he was so much more than an evangelist.

Boswell's *Johnson* itself gives no better view of the eighteenth century than Wesley's works. Not only his *Journal*, but all his writings, show a man intensely alive and determined 'to serve his present age.' His works are full of allusions to everything that made up the life of the people for whose salvation he spent his life. He states his opinions on the question of population, the increase of great towns, the depletion of rural districts, unemployment, the causes of unemployment, the remedies for unemployment, the land question, small holdings, agriculture, fisheries, taxation, the national debt, East India stock, the legitimacy of speculation, the accumulation and the distribution of wealth, luxury, dress, money, intemperance, smuggling, the production of useful and useless articles, the evil of pensions, and kindred themes. His writings, in a word, abound with allusions to the social conditions of the people, and are not wanting in most drastic suggestions for the removal of wrongs and injustices under which he felt they suffered.

IV

Wesley endeavoured to show that 'Christianity is essentially a social religion.' His special contribution to religious thought was his doctrine of perfect love. This did not merely consist in a man's love to God, *but in his love of his neighbour*

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

as himself. In reference to the early Christian custom of having all things in common, Wesley says : 'The command was written on their hearts. It naturally and necessarily resulted from the degree of love which they enjoyed. . . . And wheresoever the same cause shall prevail, the same effect will naturally follow.' He spent much time in observing the circumstances of men's lives, that he might serve their interests. His religion touched not only men's souls, but the men who were the abiding-places of the souls. His observation on the life of his times is always keen, always practical.

'I have thought much,' he says, 'on the huge encomiums which have been for many ages bestowed on a country life ! See that little house under the wood, by the riverside ? There is rural life to perfection ! Take a detail of the farmer's happiness. He rises with or before the sun, calls his servants, looks to his swine and cows, and then his stables and barns. He sees to the sowing and ploughing of his ground in winter and spring. In summer and autumn he hurries and sweats among his mowers and reapers. And where is his happiness in the meantime ? Which of these employments do we envy ? Or do we envy the delicate repast which succeeds ? "Oh, the happiness of eating beans well greased with fat bacon !" Was Horace in his senses when he talked thus ? . . . In general their life is supremely dull, and it is usually unhappy too. For of all people in the kingdom they are most discontented ; seldom satisfied either with God or man.'

One need not wonder that a man who so clears his mind of the cant of sentiment is full of practical sympathy with the poor.

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

Wesley was often troubled by the spectacle of starving people. He found them even in Birmingham, and enters in his *Journal* reflections on their condition. In a certain year, when poverty was pressing men to revolutionary cries, he wrote a pamphlet entitled *On the Present Scarcity of Provisions*. He had come across a starving woman who had been glad to make a meal of 'an old bone' which her dog found; 'and this,' he cries, 'in a land flowing with milk and honey!' After relating several such incidents of poverty, the pamphlet asks the question, 'Why have they nothing to eat? Because they cannot work. Why cannot they get work?' He answers this question by a number of facts, such as the price of food. 'Why is corn so dear? Because huge quantities are used in distilling.' Wesley objects to the manufacture of useless products. 'But the king's revenue depends on the taxation of spirits,' says the objector. Wesley replies, 'Oh, tell it not in Constantinople that the English raise their royal revenue by selling the flesh and blood of their countrymen.' 'Why are oats dear?' Because gentlemen keep four times as many horses as formerly. What keeps up the price of poultry, pigs, and eggs? The farming monopoly: there is now one great farmer where there were formerly ten or twenty small ones. Because of the luxury of the rich. Because of the price of land. Rents are being raised to support luxuries. Taxes are becoming intolerable.

What are the remedies?

The price of wheat and barley is to be lowered by the '*prohibition of distilling*.' The price of oats to be lowered by the reduction of the number of gentlemen's horses, by taxing gentlemen's carriages heavily, and remitting the wheel-tax, which fell heavily on the

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

necessary vehicles of the poor man. The price of pork and poultry is to be reduced by letting no farm at a higher rent than £100 per annum, and generally the price of land and other high prices may be reduced by the repression of luxury. Wesley also argues that half the national debt should immediately be discharged, and state pensions for people who do nothing to deserve them should be abolished.

This is a fairly wide programme for a mere individualistic evangelist. John Wesley was much too anxious about the salvation of souls not to throw his heart into the destruction of the conditions of grinding poverty which destroy souls. In this pamphlet he shows his antipathy to the production of useless articles, his sympathy with small holdings, and Government interference with such a distribution of national wealth as makes for poverty and oppression.

Wesley held strong opinions about certain forms of taxation. He instances particularly the salt tax, which, he claims, destroyed the herring fishery. The severe taxation of liquor, which, Lecky declares, was designed to suppress the intemperate habits of the people but increased smuggling, did much less than the Methodist Revival to make England temperate.

V

Lack of space forbids a comprehensive review of Wesley's instructive opinions and suggestions on many social subjects. His principal contribution to social science is his view of wealth and luxury. He quite frequently gives instructions to his people which, carried out, would have far-reaching

Wesley on
Wealth.

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

economic consequences. He did not look upon money as a necessary evil, but he did realize the great peril of the desire of riches. 'This,' he says, 'will be their grand danger; as they are industrious and frugal they must needs increase in goods. . . . What need, then, have they of the strongest warning, lest they be entangled in riches and perish! A gentleman told me some years since, "I shall leave forty thousand pounds to my children." Now, suppose he had left them twenty thousand, and given the other twenty thousand to God and the poor. Would God have said to him "Thou fool"? ' 'A man, without any fault of his own, may be rich. Riches, dangerous as they are, do not always drown men in destruction and perdition, *but the desire of riches does.*' The folly of the mad search for wealth impresses him. 'Money,' he says, 'is not your ultimate end. The treasuring of gold and silver for its own sake is as grossly unreasonable as the treasuring up spiders or the wings of butterflies.'

His greatest contribution to the subject is his sermon on 'The Use of Money.' He told his people: (1) To gain all they can; (2) to save all they can; (3) to give all they can. He has much to say about the gaining of money. There are certain limitations, personal and social, which a Christian man must observe. Wesley seeks to moralize the accumulation of wealth. A man may pay too much for his gold when he injures his health. Gold, according to him, is too dear, if a man gains it in an unhealthy trade—'when,' for instance, 'he breathes an air tainted with streams of melting lead.' It is too dear if it injures his mind. It is especially too dear if it is gained by the injury of his neighbour, whether in his substance, his body, or his soul. He enters into detail as to what these restrictions practically

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

mean. 'We may not,' he says, 'sell anything which tends to impair health. Such is, eminently, all that liquid fire commonly called drams or spirituous liquors. . . . All who sell them, in the common way, to any one that will buy, are poisoners general. They murder His Majesty's subjects wholesale, neither does their eye pity or spare. They drive them to hell like sheep. And what is their gain? Is it not the blood of these men? Who, then, could envy their large estates and sumptuous palaces? A curse is in the midst of them.'

In the accumulation of wealth Wesley's first principle is, 'Life is more than meat.' He considers that the human being who produces wealth is the first person to be considered. It must not be produced at the expense of his interests. The distance between this and the claims of labour to-day is not great. The one is a logical issue from the other. Wesley would undoubtedly say to-day to the man who demands a certain luxury of life, 'Sir, it matters little whether you are rich; it matters greatly if your neighbour starves.'

In speaking of the saving of money Wesley wants to save his people from luxury and from the use of their resources in an unnatural and artificial life; and in order to secure this he recommends them to give their money away, realizing that they are God's stewards, who shall one day render an account of their stewardship.

This advice of his is not merely on social grounds, but also on personal—although the two intermingle in his mind. He sees that luxury produces indolence and softness and needless self-indulgence; but he also sees that it robs the poor of their right. This is evident from his views on dress and diversions. While he is not uncharitable in his view of amusements, he fears them as

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

needless luxuries ; but on dress he says : 'Costly apparel engenders pride and vanity, inflames lust, and is opposite to the adornment of good works. Every shilling needlessly spent in apparel is in effect stolen from God and His poor.'

Commenting on the plain dress of the courtiers of Charles of Sweden, he says : 'If those who wear plain dress do employ the money they thus save, then a part of what only served to fat a few rich tradesmen for hell will suffice to feed and clothe and employ many poor that seek the kingdom of heaven. And how will these tradesmen themselves live? They will live like men, by honest labour ; most of whom before lived like swine, wallowing in all gluttony and sensuality.'

Wesley is utterly impatient, using the strongest invective, with the luxury and comfort of the rich when gained at the expense of the poor. Nothing has been more strongly stated by advanced social writers than the economic waste of the production of luxuries. Wesley speaks like a twentieth-century social economist¹ when he claims that employment would be increased, and not decreased, by the lessened productions of the luxuries of the rich.

Enough has been written to show that the teaching of Wesley was not inconsistent with advanced reforms in the matter of the creation and distribution of wealth. In a word, he believed that the chief thing to consider is the man who produces wealth, that the superfluities of the rich are not justifiable when they deprive the poor of their necessities, and that not only for the community, but for the individual, great personal fortunes are an evil and a peril.

¹ Compare, for instance, L. Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*.

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

VI

Wesley, like his Lord, was unsparing in his denunciation of the sins of the good and the respectable, and he was full of sympathy with the poor and needy. Yet he did not condone their vices. ^{Wesley and the Poor.}

Not only does he denounce the man who profits from the drunkenness of the drunkard, but he speaks strongly against the drunkard. 'Are you a man?' he says. 'God made you a man, but you make yourself a beast. Wherein does a man differ from a beast? Is it not chiefly in the reason and the understanding? Oh, how honourable is a beast of God's making, compared with one who makes himself a beast!'

He is merciless against indolence wherever he sees it; and no review of his social work would be complete without mention of the fact that he did much to destroy smuggling—a quite common crime of his day.

But, on the whole, he feels the poor are not to be denounced, but to be pitied and helped.

How indignant he is with the injustices they have to suffer! 'Suppose a great man to oppress the needy. What remedy against such oppression can he find in this Christian country? If the one is rich and the other is poor, doth not justice stand afar off?' 'Without money you can have no law; poverty alone utterly shuts out justice.'

The abuse of charities especially arouses his wrath. 'There is one instance more of injustice, oppression, and sacrilege which hath long cried aloud in the ears of God. For among men who doth hear? I mean the management of many of those who are entrusted with public charities. By the pious munificence of

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

our forefathers we have many of these ; but is it not glaringly true that the managers of many of them (1) do not apply the benefaction to what it was designed ; (2) do not apply it with such frugality as is required ; (3) do not apply the whole of it to charitable use, but secrete part for themselves ; or, lastly, by barefaced oppression, exclude those from having any part in such benefaction who dare set before them the things they have done ?'

Wesley was much too practical to be a mere academic sociologist. He made experiments. He gave suggestions to the Government which the Government would have been wise to materialize, but in the meantime he did the duty that lay nearest. The quotations given from his work show that he would have welcomed some form of social reconstruction, especially if he had had to face the aggravated problems of our own day ; but he felt the obligation of human need and wretchedness actually stirring him to practical service.

He cared for every side of human life. Men were not mere souls to him. He provided books for their minds, physic for their bodies, relief for their necessities, and orphanages for their destitute children. No human being, however misshapen and criminal, was outside his world-wide parish. He wrote treatises on slavery. He cared about the prisoner, and when he buried Silas Told, notes with special praise his splendid work for condemned malefactors. The work of his preachers among soldiers won the plaudits and patronage of the Duke of Cumberland. He had a great pity for orphan children, and erected orphan-houses in connexion with his early preaching-places in Newcastle and Bristol. He was greatly impressed with the orphan-house at Halle

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

and its institutions, and speaks of it as an illustration of the fact that all things are possible to faith.

Howell Harris won the praises of Wesley for his orphan-house. Wesley was the real inventor of the 'Institutional Church.' He loved the people. Of this his dispensaries are a striking confirmation.

His *Primitive Physic* is not a handbook of modern medicine, but it shows how intensely social were Wesley's activities. To a future archbishop he writes: 'From a deep conviction that physicians do very little good, I have felt it my duty, these four months past, to prescribe such medicines to six or seven hundred of the poor as I knew were proper for their several disorders.' Again he writes: 'I was still in pain for many of the poor that were sick. I thought of a kind of desperate expedient: "I will prepare and give them physic myself." For six-and-twenty years I had made anatomy and physic the study of my leisure hours. . . . I took into my assistance an apothecary and an experienced surgeon.'

In the relief of poverty he showed the same painstaking care, and strove to organize charity. He had a mediaeval horror of usury, and was merciless to pawn-broking. 'I made,' he writes, 'a public collection towards a lending stock for the poor. Our rule is to lend only twenty shillings at once, which is repaid weekly within three months. I began this about a year and a half ago; thirty pounds sixteen shillings were collected; and out of this no less than two hundred and fifty-five persons have been relieved.' He tried to relieve the poor without pauperizing them. At one time he collected a penny a week from each member for the relief of the poor and the sick. 'My design,' I told them, 'is to *employ*, for

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

the present, all women who are out of business, and desire it, in knitting.'

Another interesting illustration of Wesley's realization of the dignity of human beings is to be found in the following extract from the *Journal*, condemning a resolution: 'That every one who took a pew should have it as his own, thus overthrowing with one blow the discipline that I have been establishing for fifty years.'

The divine human pity and the practical human sagacity of Wesley made him scientific in his philanthropies; he never robbed men of their dignity and independence in his service and gifts of charity.

VII

No less important than his suggestions for public improvements, and his experiments in social amelioration, are the indirect social influences of his doctrines and institutions. Many of these have had, and will have, far-reaching social consequences.

Social Implications of Perfect Love.

Reference has already been made to his doctrine of Christian perfection. Too little attention has been paid to the social aspects of that doctrine. The perfect Christian is the man who perfectly loves God and man. 'Love is necessary,' says Wesley, 'for a public reformer.' Love of the Unseen is always learnt through love of the seen; love of God through love of the neighbour. Any man 'rooted and grounded in love,' even though it be human love, has the supreme qualification for 'knowing the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge.' In his work on Christian perfection, Wesley says, 'the love of our neighbours will give rise to sym-

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

pathizing sorrow ; it will lead us to visit the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and to be tenderly concerned for the distressed.' It is such love as this which will supply the best motive force of social reconstruction. The social application of this great Methodist doctrine is one of the great needs of the times.

The class-meeting is not without its social influences. It is the social expression of the religious life. It has no more characteristic hymn than—

Help us to help each other, Lord,
Each other's cross to bear ;
Let each his friendly aid afford,
And feel his brother's care.

Such a quotation might be the motto of any great religious social movement to-day, in the light, especially, of the doctrine of the solidarity of the race.

Wesley discovered the *penny*. He saw its significance. The penny is the treasure mine of the worker. And the influence of the penny is one of the great social facts of modern times.

Some of Wesley's hymns have had a great influence on the social history of England. Hymn 21 of the old book is particularly noteworthy. The early Methodists were poor and despised ; in many cases they earned only seven shillings a week ; in not a few districts they were emerging slowly from serfdom. They were really oppressed and trodden underfoot of men. They had no objection to calling themselves worms, but when other people called them worms, see how the worms turned ! This is what they sang :

So wretched and obscure,
The men whom ye despise ;
So foolish, impotent and poor,
Above your scorn we rise.

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

We through the Holy Ghost
Can witness better things ;
For He whose blood is all our boast
Hath made us priests and kings.

Riches unsearchable
In Jesus' love we know ;
And pleasures, springing from the well
Of life, our souls o'erflow.

*On all the kings of earth,
With pity we look down,*
And claim, in virtue of our birth,
A never-fading crown.

They were very poor, and very loyal ; they had no contempt for kings—they pitied them. From the calm height of spiritual superiority these men, who felt they were high-born, because they were new-born, born from above, with seven shillings a week, and no prospect of earthly betterment, looked down on Guelph, Hohen-zollern, Caesar and Ptolemy, and boasted of their eternal heritage and their everlasting kingdom. The dignity begotten by the singing of such words is the inalienable right of the sons of God. And men who felt they were sons of the King of kings could never again be made serfs.

Another factor in social development was Wesley's appeal to the will. Nothing is so likely to make for social ruin as a theory of necessity. Why does not Robert Blatchford see this ? Wesley appealed with success, as Lecky and Green testify, to the sense of responsibility, and delivered the nation from the long social slumber consequent on the pernicious teaching that all things were eternally arranged, and must be left to God.

Methodism curiously adumbrated some coming

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

socialistic developments. The Wesleyan ministry is a close trade union, adjusting supply to demand, and securing a living wage. The 'allowances' of ministers are simply in proportion to their necessities. With very trifling variations, this has been the practice till the present day. And if it has the defects of its qualities, the Methodist ministry still remains as fine a religious machine as has ever existed. It may be discovered some day that the Worn-out Ministers' Fund was a really democratic institution—prophetic of the old age pensions which seem a not unlikely benefit of the near future.

It may be thought that the social tendencies of early Methodism were arrested in their development. There is reason for such a view. But they are coming to their own to-day.

Wesley's sympathy for children has found a noble expression in the Christlike work of Dr. T. B. Stephenson's Children's Home. The memory of Charles Garrett is a sweet fragrance in Methodism, and his work was intensely social. Hugh Price Hughes was the great pioneer of modern social work in the Methodist Church. He incurred the wrath of a philanthropic peer by calling himself a Socialist. *The Methodist Times* was to be a journal of religious and *social* movement. That great man spoke as plainly about the perils of wealth as John Wesley. The West Central Mission and the preaching and writing of Mr. Hughes have given a world-wide impulse to social activity amongst religious people. His constant insistence on the Christian duty of public service, in his own church, has renewed its youth, and infinitely deepened its national significance. With the single exception of General Booth, no living man has done more to organize

JOHN WESLEY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

charity than Mr. S. F. Collier. The Manchester Mission is a model for the Christian world of the best way to do philanthropic work without pauperization. The whole Forward Movement of Methodism emphasizes the duty of public service, and even their critics tell us that modern city missions are 'a city set upon a hill, which *cannot be hid.*'

The Union for Social Service is the natural offspring of the Methodist spirit. Its members will not rest satisfied with mere remedial work. If Methodism is to fulfil her world-mission she must materialize and develop the suggestions of her great founder, which make for social reconstruction, and the descent of the city of God.

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

CHAPTER IV
CHARITY IN RELATION TO
SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

J. SCOTT LIDGETT, M.A.
BERMONDSEY SETTLEMENT, LONDON

While Jesus sought not the amelioration but the regeneration of the individual and society, charity has for centuries been too often the palliative of vice and the deadener of conscience.

Professor SHAILER MATHEWS, A.M.

I must not assume that because another man is poorer than I, I have a right to give him something. To fling him an alms may be an insult. A gift may only serve to degrade him. Let me look carefully at myself, at him, and at the gift before I dare bestow.

MARY EMILY CAVE.

CHAPTER IV

CHARITY IN RELATION TO SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

This, then, is the test of our charity: does it recognize between giver and receiver the highest bond—the bond of spiritual brotherhood?

DR. WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

WHEN what is vaguely called the 'social problem' is considered, two rival competitors come forward making sometimes exclusive claims to deal with it: Charity and Public Action.

The first of the two is Charity. In English society charitable enterprises independent of State sanction or co-operation have taken a position not equalled in the case of any other nation in the world. They are almost as manifold as human needs. They range from the relief of hunger to the supply of education. They include hospitals and nursing, housing schemes and institutions for social recreation. They cluster round churches, or are undenominational. They win support from the State or depend upon fashionable patronage. They appeal to the loftiest motives by the most self-sacrificing exertions, or extract the means of their support in the genial atmosphere of a charity dinner.

Various as are the objects, motives, and methods of such enterprises, they all in different ways and varying degrees represent that spirit of human sympathy which

CHARITY IN RELATION TO

is dimly or clearly conscious of being divine. In their highest and most generous forms they are inspired by distinctively Christian motives. It would be no exaggeration, indeed, to say that according to the measure of Christian faith is the sustaining power of our ordinary philanthropy. Yet here, as elsewhere, the Christian motive is simply the highest and noblest expression of human nature itself. Hence Christian philanthropy evokes and sets a standard for other expressions of human sympathy which are apparently purely secular. Further, the endeavours of charity, whether personal or organized, differ widely according as they represent uncritical and indeed unreflective good-will, or are so controlled by caution or by moral and economic considerations that they become 'scientific.'

The present position of charitable enterprises is bound up with the most distinctive religious and political characteristics of the British race. **The History of Charity.** The great Methodist and Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century—to go no farther back—was the inspiration of most of these forms of social service. But the fact that they took this voluntary form is largely explained by the political characteristics of our country. The unique product which we call 'British freedom' has been for the most part as hostile to what is commonly termed the 'grandmotherly' assistance of Parliament as to the unconstitutional despotism of kings.

Up to the time of the great Lord Shaftesbury governmental interference in social and economic concerns was not opposed, simply because it was undreamed of. In olden times the magistrates had indeed regulated wages; but the conception of political freedom which triumphed with the downfall of the Stuarts had for its later counter-

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

part the ideal of economic freedom which left each man free to make his own bargain with his employer, and looked upon the State simply as supplying the conditions by which this nominal freedom was upheld. Hence, anything that was necessary for the satisfaction of human need in all its forms, or for the relief of human distress and suffering, was to be obtained either by individual exertion or by charitable assistance.

The one great exception to this is to be found in the Poor Laws. These, however, represent not so much the clear enactment of a doctrine of State responsibility as a practical effort to meet social necessities and to avoid the national danger brought about principally by the suppression of the monasteries with their disbanded dependents and their gigantic charitable relief. Even the relief given under the old Poor Laws was curtailed and made as forbidding as possible by the great reform of the Poor Laws in 1834. This was done partly in order to make an end of widespread demoralization, but also in order to establish the economic independence of each individual, and to force him not only to labour but also to make a satisfactory bargain with his employer. This far-reaching reform of the Poor Law, with the branding and disabilities imposed upon pauperism, could only be made tolerable or even possible by the great expansion of charity.

Thus the present position of charitable enterprises results from the conjoint influence of the religious, political, and economic development peculiar to the British nation. The first epoch-making invasions by a new principle were brought about by the factory legislation of Lord Shaftesbury, by the Public Health Acts, and by the tardy recognition and assistance of elementary education by the State. The new doctrine

CHARITY IN RELATION TO

of the responsibility of the State, not merely to secure the abstract freedom from interference which is necessary to being but also the positive conditions which are essential to well-being, has led to the widest legislative and administrative changes.* Above all, it has brought about an altered point of view. Under the influence of the changed outlook men have become critical of charity, and charity in alliance with voluntary enterprise has entered the field in its own defence.

The most obvious and weighty objections to charitable enterprise are as follows. In the first place, it is often unwise and short-sighted. It frequently gives effect to sympathetic impulses without sufficient consideration of the moral and economic results. At its best it is insufficient. It can but temper the ill effects of our present social and industrial organization without transforming the underlying conditions which cause these evils. In short, it is a palliative and not a remedy. Further, it is even used as a means of bolstering up the present state of things. The vested interests which derive undue advantage from the present social conditions make use of charity at once to ease their own consciences and to make the existing system tolerable to its victims. Further, charitable institutions, it is objected, are used to maintain the dependence of the poor upon the rich. Such dependence leads to offensive patronage on the one hand, and to abject cringing on the other, to say nothing of minor moral disadvantages.

The justification of charity, on the other hand, proceeds from a variety of motives. In the first place, charitable people are deeply convinced not only of the

* See *Law and Public Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century*. Professor Dicey. (Macmillan, 1905.)

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

integrity of their own motives, but of the important part that such motives must always play in securing the well-being of society. The free play of charitable sympathy is felt to be bound up with its ^{Its} Justification. voluntary character. The enforcement and extension of State responsibility with the growing imposition by law of social burdens upon the citizens, as such, is treated as injuring the springs of voluntary service and as hurtful to individual freedom and independence. Sometimes it is clear that these objections cover a very natural but less worthy cause of opposition. The managers of voluntary institutions love the power which they exercise, and are tempted to cling to it long after it has ceased to be the best means of securing the public good.

In recent times a new factor is becoming increasingly important. The classes for whom charitable sympathy and endeavour are invoked show an increased determination to work out their own salvation for themselves. They seek to do this by increasing their influence, direct and indirect, upon legislation and administration. The Independent Labour Party and the Labour Representation Committee, and other political movements are a sign of this determination. ^{New Forces.}

It is active also in the increasing power of trade unions, and in the countless organizations for meeting all the wants of life, physical or otherwise, such as the great co-operative societies, which have been created and are maintained by the industrial classes themselves. So much is sufficient as to the present position of charity in our social system.

Confronting it are the ideal and the propaganda of Social Democracy in its various forms. Its watchword

CHARITY IN RELATION TO

is 'Justice, not Charity.' In addition, it adopts all or most of the objections to charity which have been enumerated. Charity, according to its wholesale denunciation, is necessarily ineffective in its work and degrading to its objects. It does harm even to those who display it by fostering the sense of superiority and by prompting the insincerity which is content to benefit by social injustice even while affecting to relieve it. The demand for justice is often accompanied by an abstract doctrine of human rights, as, for example, the right
<sup>'Justice, not
Charity.'</sup> to work. It is needless, and within our space impossible, to specify the various means suggested for arriving at such a state of social equality as that charity will no longer be needed.

Is it possible to arrive at anything like the truth in regard to these opposing contentions? It seems to the present writer that it is possible on the following lines. The key to all social questions is to be found in spiritual and not in merely material conditions. The principle that 'man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God,' is of the most far-reaching importance. As God is, so is man, because man's nature is stamped with the divine image. Social salvation, therefore, can only be brought about as man realizes to the full the likeness of God. But, as Christians know, 'God is Love.' Hence it is only as love becomes the supreme motive in man's life that he comes to his own perfection, and is able to work out a salvation which must be social as well as individual simply because love is in its very nature social. It is a great mistake to suppose that the springs of action in human nature are entirely independent of one another, and to treat love as only one

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

among the rest. In particular it is erroneous to treat love on the one side and justice on the other as independent principles of action. The spring of justice, no less than that of the sympathy which leads to charitable ministries, is in love. The strongest and only sufficient reason for doing justly to my neighbour at all costs is that I love him as myself. This does not, of course, necessarily involve to any great extent the emotional affection which we sometimes, but wrongly, suppose to be essential to love. The really essential attribute of love is that it wills all good to its object; that it realizes his worth and serves it. In short, in so far as I really love my neighbour I love him as myself; that is, I treat him as having as just a right to well-being as I have myself, and am as ready to serve his well-being as to serve my own. The quality which carries this temper into action and protects it from all harm and invasion is justice. But let love fail, and justice will speedily perish when exposed to the almost overwhelming temptations of human life. Love only as a constraining motive can overcome and cast out selfishness. Just as love is essential to justice, so it should be the soul of charity. The shortcomings of charity, so far as they are radical, are always due to the insufficient presence in it of real love. If it is inconsiderate, neglects any necessary instrument, shrinks from any sacrifice, or stops short of any truly desirable end, it is because it has not come to understand and fulfil its own meaning. It is because, despite all appearance or professions, the charitable person does not yet love his neighbour as himself. We have, then, when we mount up to the source of things, to cast aside our conventional notions both of charity and of justice, and

CHARITY IN RELATION TO

to examine what is meant by love, and how love, when really supreme in the hearts of men, will work.

Passing from this highest ground to practical considerations, the smallest amount of reflection will show us that charity, whether as the motive of individual helpfulness or as the spring of collective action, must have a permanent place in meeting social needs. However high the level of individual comfort may eventually become, and however stable the conditions which sustain it, there must remain the liability to various forms of suffering and misfortune which can only be met by voluntary sympathy. Moreover, it is for the present quite impossible to define the abstract rights of man, still more practically to satisfy them. Even the supposed

The Provision of Work. right to work is very difficult to maintain, for it must first be established that the work exists and that it is desirable. To make work for the sake of making it is little, if at all, less degrading than any other form of voluntary or State relief. The principle laid down by the Apostle Paul that 'if any man will not work, neither let him eat,' entitles us to demand the willingness to work, but does not involve the assertion that work can be found for the workless but willing man in every particular case. The most careful organization of work by the State could hardly, for example, meet the sudden emergencies caused by the failure of a trade, by the alteration of its methods of production, or by the destruction of the factory in which it was carried on.

We are on more hopeful ground when, instead of attempting to define such abstract rights without even the hope of being able to give complete effect to them in all circumstances and conditions, we approach the

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

matter from a different standpoint. The supreme principle of love impels us to recognize the worth of human personality wherever it is found. The worth of personality, however, can only be safeguarded by giving to each individual the conditions which are essential to its development. Love will, therefore, unceasingly labour for the establishment of such an order of righteousness as secures to each individual in growing measure the indispensable means, not only of being, but of well-being. The obtaining of useful work is one of the most important of such conditions. The power to do it, when obtainable, is another and corresponding condition.

Society, so far as it is animated by the principle of love, will ceaselessly endeavour to bring about such a measure of social reconstruction as will provide the work and ensure the power to do it. Thus it will deal with the problem alike of the unemployed and of the unemployable.

The result of this discussion may perhaps be summarized as follows. Charitable enterprises of all sorts must, under any conditions we can conceive, hold an important place in social ministry.

A Summary.

Even were our present evils remedied, voluntary effort must prepare the way for State action in any progressive community, and the voluntary effort of the few towards a higher good should be accompanied by the impulse to share that good with others. This impulse is the essential spring of all charitable endeavour. But charity only fulfils its end in so far as it is ceaselessly inspired in full measure by the spirit of love.

Love, as has been seen, is the spring and sustaining strength of all right principles of conduct. And love never gives less than itself to its object. This means

CHARITY IN RELATION TO

that it never becomes narrow, heedless, or mechanical. Thoughtless charity fails of the principle of love because it is not sufficiently considerate of the real interests of its object. Perfunctory charity similarly fails because it comes short of real sympathy. Still more does patronizing charity contradict the spirit of love, because it brings about or seeks to maintain relations of dependence which are hurtful to the personality and character of those whom it professes to assist.

Really to 'befriend' a man implies that we wish him all good. Hence, above all, if our sentiment is real, we wish that he should be delivered from those unfavourable conditions of life which cause him to need the periodic intervention of a voluntary help upon which he cannot depend. It is necessary, if he is to be delivered

Causes not	from the evils of excessive uncertainty, and
Symptoms.	from the anxiety it brings, to secure to him

such conditions of life as will make him as much the master of his own destiny as men can possibly become in this present life. Hence true love will be concerned, above all things, to deal wisely and courageously with such obstacles and drawbacks as put this measure of security beyond his reach. It will, therefore, seek to remove the causes of social evil instead of palliating the effects. In so far as this motive is honest and influential, it will employ the thorough-going methods which common sense suggests. It will welcome the ordered co-operation of all the agencies which are necessary to give effect to this great end, which is prescribed by the very meaning of love itself.

Of all these agencies the State is in many respects the most powerful and the most natural. It is the only instrument by which the community as a whole can

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

co-operate to carry out a given purpose. The good which is thus brought about for the least favoured members of the community is a service not only to them, but to the community as a whole. For the spiritual health of the community as a whole can only be attained when love has its perfect work in creating the fellowship of a true human brotherhood. The failure to desire such an end, or to employ all possible means for its realization, means a want of love.

If charity be set up in opposition to all this, then charity is chosen as seeking a lower end, as exercising a less constraining power and involving a smaller sacrifice. Under such conditions charity contradicts the spirit of love, ceases to be real charity, and becomes a source of evil and not of good. The sincerity and efficiency of charity, therefore, depends upon its leading the way to such a measure of social reconstruction as is necessary to fulfil the ends of love. Directly it falls short of this, whether through intellectual limitations, lack of sympathy, or unwillingness to make sacrifices, it obstructs not merely secular progress, but the advance of the kingdom of God upon earth.

It is upon these lines that the reconciliation of charity and justice, of voluntary effort and State action, of attempts to remedy evil effects and the endeavour to remove their causes must be sought. None of these elements can be spared—at least, for the present—but that which inspires and unites them all can be nothing lower than the spirit which fulfils in order the two great commandments, the first of which enjoins that men love God with all their heart and soul and strength and mind, and the second that they love their neighbour as themselves.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cities and Citizens.* Miss Sutter. 1s.
An account of the Elberfeld system of Poor Relief.
- Our Treatment of the Poor.* W. Chance. (King & Sons, 2s. 6d.)
Treats of the Poor Law and public and private charity.
- Practicable Socialism.* S. and A. Barnett. (Longmans, 3s. 6d.)
Short chapters on 'scientific' Christian charity by Canon and Mrs. Barnett, of Whitechapel. Very useful.
- Rich and Poor.* Mrs. Bosanquet. (Macmillan, 2s. 6d. net.)
An experienced, well-balanced treatment of a difficult subject.
- Practical Christian Sociology.* W. B. Crafts. (Funk & Wagnalls, 7s. 6d. net.)
Chapters i-iii bear on subject.
- Ruling Ideas of Present Age.* W. Gladden. (J. Clarke, 3s. 6d. net.)
Chapter iii treats of the 'New Charity,' and is an excellent discussion of the subject.

CHAPTER V
CHRISTIANITY AND
SOCIALISM

FRANK BALLARD,
M.A., B.D., B.Sc., ETC.
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

The form of association which, if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief and work-people without a voice in the management, but the association of the labourers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected and removable by themselves.

JOHN STUART MILL.

It is a fact worth considering—that the élite of the working men of probably the best educated and most thoughtful nation in the world, have gone over to the Social Democratic party.

THOMAS KIRKUP.

Altruism—Christ's glorious gospel of love against man's dismal science of greed.

To me it seems beyond question true that the spread of Altruism is the most important consummation in the progress of social evolution. Altruism, indeed, is more important than Socialism itself.

Socialism is nothing more nor less than the means by which Altruism may attain its end.

ROBERT BLATCHFORD.

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

It is a serious mistake to suppose that there can be any real antagonism between the ethical and spiritual teaching of Christianity and the principles of Socialism rightly understood.

Encyclopædia Britannica.

THROUGHOUT this chapter the term 'Socialism' is used in its technical or distinctive sense, as representing definitely what is more scientifically called Collectivism. To most ordinary people the very name spells horror, and its mental picture is accompanied by several notes of exclamation. A few moments' fair and clear consideration may, however, help the reader to a juster judgement.

It cannot be denied that on both sides, for and against Socialism, there are uttered far too many foolish and bitter words. But it is always a pity when men who mean equally well to their fellows, waste energy in uncalled-for acrimony.

Confining ourselves here to the relations between Christianity and Socialism, it cannot be questioned that these represent two of the greatest—if not the two greatest forces of our modern life. Irreligious vapourings about Christianity 'tottering to decay,' and religious imaginings that Socialism is but the transient wave created by a noisy minority, are unlike unworthy in their disregard for facts, and express nothing more than the

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

wishes of certain extremists. On the national scale which is contemplated Christianity has, confessedly, never yet been tried; but it has never before been so fairly upon the high road to trial. So far as numbers, clarified creed, purified ideals, larger sympathies, consecrated energies, can exhibit vitality, Christianity is much nearer virility than dotage, and Christ is 'coming,' in the only true sense, more and more year by year.

On the other hand, Mr. Kidd has not exaggerated the parallel coming of democracy, as being the 'fact of our time which overshadows all others.' The growth, for instance, of the number of Labour members in Parliament, with their leaven of Socialists, is an event as plain and as significant as the dawn.

These two vast potencies—one religious, the other economic—cannot possibly thus exist, and grow, side by side, without mutual influence. What is that influence to be? Are they to fight or to fuse, to help or to hinder each other? No more important question can present itself to true philanthropists. We can but sketch here the merest outline of an answer.

The first necessity is to make quite clear the terms employed. It may, indeed, seem late to be asking in the twentieth century, 'What is Christianity?' ^{What is Christianity?} But it cannot be denied that now, as in generations past, great and distinctive differences of theological opinion divide Christendom. It were simple dishonesty to ignore the deep fissures which separate from each other the Greek, Roman, Anglican, Evangelical, and Unitarian Churches, to say nothing of national distinctions. Confessedly it does not appear easy to 'reduce all these variants to a common denominator' in theology. But it may be done for our present purpose,

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

seeing that we are not concerned with the speculative but the practical, by defining Christianity as the realization in practice of the mind of Christ, according to the New Testament interpreted by itself. To which may well be added Canon Moore Ede's avowal that 'The New Testament idea of the Christian Church is that of a body of men bound together by their belief in the character of God, and the laws of God, for social service.'¹ The various sections of the universal Church will unquestionably read into these definitions their own theological conceptions, as well they may. In every such 'variant' we have a means to an end. The end, both here and hereafter, cannot but be 'the mind of the Master.' For a further expression of the working essence of Christianity, we may be content with such a spiritual summary as the two great commands enunciated by Christ Himself, with His ethical outline in the Sermon on the Mount, and the well-known apostolic charges in Paul's letters to Corinth and Rome.² These will suffice for the definition of Christianity.

It is quite as necessary to exercise discrimination in attaching a meaning to 'Socialism.' One well qualified to speak, says truly:³ 'There is more than ^{What is Socialism?} one kind of Socialism, for we hear of State Socialism, Practical Socialism, Communal Socialism, and these kinds differ from one another, though they are all Socialism.' Indeed it is, as this writer points out, especially necessary to mark what Socialism is not. It

¹ *The Church and Town Problems*, Hulsean Lectures, 1895, p. 21.

² See Matt. v.-vii. ; xi. ; xii. 18-21 ; Luke iv. 18, 19 ; John iii. 1 Cor. xiii. ; Rom. xii. and xiii. ; Titus ii., &c.

³ Blatchford's *Britain for the British*, cheap edition, p. 83.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

has been so often carelessly and untruthfully identified with anarchy, revolution, general spoliation, not to say wholesale immorality, that it is no wonder some indignant protests to the contrary have been evoked.¹

The simplest statement—from an acknowledged authority—as to what Socialism, stripped of all misrepresentations, really involves, is this: ‘In plain words, the principle or root idea on which all Socialists agree is—that the *country*, and all the machinery of production in the country, shall belong to the whole people, and shall be used by the people and for the people.’² This suggestion may be put in many ways, with little or much elaboration,³ but in substance they all come to the same

¹ Take the following extract as a fair specimen, from a leaflet published by the Belfast Socialist Society: ‘*We do not want to divide up the wealth of the country. No responsible Socialist ever suggested such folly. We do not want to destroy the foundations of morality. We desire to introduce a higher morality into the industrial life of the nation. We do not want to promote a violent revolution. We wish to see a higher social order peacefully evolved out of the present anarchical system by constitutional means. We do not want to drag all men down to one level. We seek to provide opportunity for all men to develop their higher faculties to the utmost, unrestrained by the fear of hunger and poverty.*’ In such an ideal there is surely little to alarm the most spiritually minded Christian.

² *Britain for the British*, p. 84. ‘Land’ would be a better term than ‘country.’

³ Thus Dr. Schäffle, in his little volume, *The Quintessence of Socialism* (Social Science Series, 1s.)—which is, on the whole, the best book for the beginner or the ordinary reader—gives the following summary: ‘The real aim of the movement is as follows—to replace the system of private capital (*i.e.* the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprise) by a system of collective capital, that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified or collective

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

thing. Professor Graham has, however, truly said that 'The new Socialists, the Collectivists, will not honour with the name of Socialist any one who does not accept the whole of their programme. The half-way systems and measures will not do. Collectivism is, they say, the only system that is thorough-going, coherent and logical, as opposed to the different partial stop-gap systems—co-operation, legislative interference, &c.—which would be either wholly futile or barely temporary palliatives. As opposed to the existing systems, it is the only one at once rational and founded on justice.'¹ Thus, again, in Dr. Schäffle's words :² 'The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private and competing capital into a united collective capital.' This definition, therefore, without further amplification, may fairly content us here.

Now it is manifest that in this Socialistic 'system,' as thus set forth, there are three main elements which all considerations of detail would only serve to emphasize. We have here presented to us a main motive, a definite aim, a distinct method. The *motive* is found in the

organization of national labour, on the basis of collective or common ownership of the means of production by all the members of society. This collective method of production would remove the present competitive system, by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively, as well as the distribution among all of the common produce of all, according to the amount and social utility of the productive labour of each' (pp. 3, 4).

¹ *Socialism, New and Old* (International Scientific Series), pp. 9, 10. For a more elaborate statement of the details, as set forth in the programmes of the Social Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society, see *Modern Socialism*, edited by R. C. K. Ensor, p. 350.

² *Quintessence of Socialism*, p. 20.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

manifold wrongs and sufferings which to so terrible an extent abound, and even threaten to increase, in modern civilization. The *aim* is so to cure these as to prevent their future recurrence, and thus attain to Ruskin's ideal, that every country should contain 'the greatest number of healthy, happy, human beings.' The *method*, regarded as the only way in which such an ideal can ever be reached, is collectivist. A moment's thought suffices to show how vast is the field of facts, possibilities, and difficulties covered by each of these elements in the programme of social reconstruction. Yet there is certainly nothing here to call for either hate or panic on the part of any law-abiding Christian citizen. What is needed is a calm and sincere examination of the whole case.

It is most to our present purpose to point out first how much Christianity and Socialism have thus far in common. As to the motive, it must be

The Motive.

unhesitatingly affirmed that the two are one. Whatever becomes of variations of name or creed, the true disciple of Christ can no more be selfishly indifferent to the woful condition of myriads around him to-day than his Master was to the hunger of the multitudes when He said, 'Give ye them to eat.' As Dr. Paton puts it: 'The congregations that meet in our places of worship dare not imitate the example of the Priest and Levite, and pass by the wounded and pillaged traveller without attempting to bind up his wounds.' The mind of Christ in this regard is so plain, that it were quite superfluous to quote His specific words.

Again, as to the *aim*. Whilst it is certainly true that the purpose of Socialism is not co-extensive with that of Christianity, seeing that the latter definitely includes

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

men's spiritual and eternal as well as practical interests—desiring to induce and develop love to God no less than love to man, and taking into earnest account all the possibilities of life beyond the grave

The Aim.

—yet everything that Socialism insists upon as being necessary for healthy bodily conditions, and for full mental equipment, is already included, and has always been included, in the programme of Christianity, whether ecclesiastics have acknowledged it or not. So that in regard to these two items of aim and motive, there is no more room for collision or opposition than between two concentric circles one of which is larger than the other. Other considerations would also show that the writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is well warranted when he states that 'the ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity.'

The outstanding question, therefore, is one of method, and resolves itself into the inquiry as to *how* the ideal condition of human society which will mean the least suffering for all and the greatest happiness for the greatest number can be

**The question
of Method
threefold.**

most surely, swiftly, and permanently reached. Will this be best ensured by a Socialism which contemns or ignores Christianity? Or by a Christianity which derides and opposes Socialism? Or by a blending of all that is truest in Christianity with all that is best in Socialism, such that the joint-system may be rightly termed the new Christian Socialism?

To the philanthropist, brooding sympathetically over the need and difficulty of thorough social reform, three methods, in the main, present themselves.

First we have suggested 'the swift abandonment to metaphysicians of all the cosmic speculations involved

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

in Christianity.' This is the method now urged by *The Clarion* and other so-called Rationalistic organs, which opine that 'one of the great social needs of our time is to sweep away the whole tottering structure of conventional religion and worship.'¹ This means definite—and generally bitter—anti-Christian Collectivism.

Secondly, there may be the development of all that is truly Christian, in far more thorough and practical application to social life as at present existing. This would, of course, include the permission of private enterprise and commercial competition based upon the employment of personal capital, but under much more real limitations and fairer conditions than those which now obtain. The ideal would be the actual subjection of civilized life, in all its grades and ramifications, to the unselfishness embodied in the second great command, 'Thou shalt love thy fellow man as thou lovest thyself.'

Or it might, thirdly, be found to be best, after all, that a Christian Collectivism should be brought to pass, as being the only way in which, really and thoroughly, those principles of justice and fairness, which Socialism and Christianity alike demand, can be applied to human society. How great room there is for difference of judgement as to these alternatives, between men equally earnest and sincere, is manifest at a glance.

It cannot, unfortunately, be denied that an antagonism as acrimonious as apparently irreconcilable does at present exist between some Socialists and some Christians. Dr. Schäffle, indeed, referring to Continental nations, avers that 'Socialism of the present day is out-and-out irreligious, and hostile to the Church. It says that the Church is only a police

Anti-Christian
Socialism.

¹ *Haeckel's Critics Answered*, by Joseph McCabe, p. 126.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

institution for upholding capital, and that it deceives the common people with a "cheque payable in heaven"; so that the Church deserves to perish.' So, again, the author of the most popular attack upon Christianity in this country during recent years, justifies his action by affirming,¹ 'I am working for Socialism when I attack a religion which is hindering Socialism.' Inasmuch as most Secularists are now Socialists, as also are a large number of Agnostics, one cannot wonder that sometimes there appears to be a feud between the Christian and the Socialist as real and keen in our own midst as generally in France, Belgium, and Germany. This, however, is not actually the case, although certain journals are continually doing their utmost to bring it about.

There is no necessity in principle that such pronounced enmity should obtain between these two great world-forces. There is no positive element in Socialism which is contrary to Christianity. Certainly Atheism and Determinism, or even Agnosticism, are no essentials of genuine Socialism. Christianity, on the other hand, involves fundamentally no more opposition to Collectivism than it does to co-operation or sanitation. Collectivism is, after all, nothing but a theory concerning the surest method for bringing to pass the best conditions of social life, as against the horrible results so largely accruing from the present developments of civilization. Whether it is truly the surest and quickest way to accomplish these most necessary ends, is a matter for careful consideration. If it can be definitely shown to be such, there is no more religious reason why every Christian should not be a Socialist, than there is social or political reason why every Socialist should not be a Christian.

¹ *God and My Neighbour*, by R. Blatchford, p. 189.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

This, of course, applies to Socialism pure and simple, as above defined,¹ not to such assaults upon everything Christian as have been associated with Socialism in certain newspapers. Well does Dr. Schäffle say hereupon : 'This tendency is not a necessary consequence of the economic Socialistic principle, at least not in respect to such religious institutions as have ceased to be united with antagonistic worldly interests and classes. Socialism might soon obtain an enormous force of propagandist persuasiveness, if only it would lay aside those deeply irreligious and materialistic tendencies which are not actually contained in its principles, but which are manifest in all classes to-day. No doubt these tendencies have come from its earliest French and German founders.'²

As a matter of plain fact large numbers of Christians are in favour of Socialism, and when it is recognized that amongst these are to be found such representative leaders of Christian thought and action as Dr. Clifford, Canon Scott Holland, Dr. Horton, C. F. Aked, Hon. and Rev. J. G. Adderley,

Pro-Socialist
Christians.

¹ Dr. Clifford thus summarizes its fair representation : 'Now let there be no mistake as to what this Collectivism is. It does not advocate the absorption of the individual by the State, or the suppression of the family, or the total extinction of private property, or the direction of literature and art and religion by the collective wisdom of the community ; it does not involve the sudden overthrow of the machinery of industrial life ; but, in the light of the historical development of industry, it seeks to accelerate the evolution of the industrial life so that it shall free itself from the defects and evils that now belong to it and shall fulfil its divine mission in the enrichment of the whole life of mankind' (*Fabian Tract*, No. 78, p. 5).

² *Quintessence of Socialism*, pp. 117, 113, &c.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

J. Cartmel Robinson, Canon James Wilson, Bruce Wallace, and many others, it should surely be manifest, beyond all cavil, that when Christianity and Socialism are truly represented and fairly understood, there is no more necessary contradiction between them than between a man's right hand and his left.

We may go farther. There is everything to be gained alike for all that is truest in Christianity and all that is best in Socialism, by mutual conciliation and co-operation on the part of earnest advocates on either side. There is no necessity for conflict. Nothing whatever is to be gained by rancorous or prejudiced mutual opposition. Christianity, without some form of genuine application to social reform, is a glaring self-contradiction. Socialism, as an ideal, is utterly impracticable without those individual forces making for righteousness which Christianity most strongly evokes. In a word, Socialism would give Christianity opportunity to justify itself before God and man; whilst Christianity would enable Socialism to purify itself from dross, and empower it actually to reach its loftiest standard of efficiency as a method for the amelioration of human society.

In view, therefore, of the farthest attainment of the highest ideals of social reconstruction, surely there is to-day both need and opportunity for an *An Eirenicon*, Eirenicon rather than for an imaginary 'holy war.' If the advocates on either side are as sincere and earnest as they avow, their most wise and worthy present action is to emphasize all possible points of agreement, whilst leaving full scope for the later consideration of points of difference. Are not all Christians who merit the name, and all Socialists whom we

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

need here consider, almost, if not altogether, one in regard to the following propositions touching social reform?

1. That the present conditions of human society are tragically unsatisfactory, seeing that they involve untold suffering for myriads who do not deserve it.

2. That there ought, on all principles of justice and morality, to be *somehow* brought to pass a fairer distribution of this life's opportunities, goods, and enjoyments.¹

3. That progress in the right direction must come to pass by evolution rather than revolution.

4. That there should be a universal and impartial insistence upon the apostolic law: 'If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat.'²

5. That to this end there should *somehow* be provided employment for every one who is able to work.

6. That there should be honourable and practical sympathy for all who through congenital infirmity, or disease, or old age, are not able to work.

7. That the preservation of home's sacredness, with the necessary degree of private property, is absolutely essential to the well-being of society.

8. That there must be such reasonable possibilities of accumulation as are necessary to provide for one's own

¹ Can any man, whether he be believer or unbeliever, deny the rightfulness of Professor Marshall's protest? 'Now at last we are setting ourselves seriously to inquire whether it is necessary that there should be any so-called "lower classes" at all; that is, whether there need be large numbers of people doomed from their birth to hard work in order to provide for others the requisites of a refined and cultured life, while they themselves are prevented by their poverty and toil from having any share or part in that life.'

² 2 Thess. iii. 10 (Weymouth's Translation). See p. 78.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

family and at the same time compatible with the common good.¹

9. That in many cases, and to a growing extent, the principle of Collectivism does already work beneficially.² For proof of this one has only to turn to the increasing number and prosperity of co-operative societies, both as to wholesale and retail branches of commerce; to the undertakings of municipalities, such as the London County Council, and of the corporations of Glasgow and Manchester, with many other of our great cities; whilst the vast improvements which have resulted in the postal and telegraph system, cannot but suggest that in this country, quite as wisely and profitably as in France, Germany, Belgium, Austria, and Italy, the whole system of posts, telephones, railways, and waterways might with advantage come under national control.

10. That there should be increased social control of machinery.

In all the above there is little if any room for serious difference of opinion between the Christian and the Socialist. The real question which prevents some Christians from being Socialists, though it need not hinder any Socialist from being a Christian, is as to the comparative advantages and disadvantages of Collectivism, when put forth as the final and all-comprehending social panacea.

Certainly Socialists have no right to condemn or abuse those who hesitate to commit themselves, at once

¹ 'The principle of Collectivism allows precisely as much room for the right of inheritance as it does to private property, whatever nonsensical fictions may have been promulgated on this point by old and new Socialists' (Dr. Schäffle, *Quintessence*, &c., p. 107).

² See *Law and Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century*. Dicey. 1905.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

and wholly, to their main economic principles. For a moment's thought suffices to show how grave are the issues and how great the difficulties involved. The mere enormity of the change suggested may well suffice to give us pause. 'The social question,' truly writes Dr. Schäffle, 'includes to-day, as at all times in a complicated whole, many particular problems in relation to reform, a multiplicity of particular social questions, and the solution of these cannot take place through the overthrow of society as it is, by the introduction of a radically new society, but only through the progress of existing society and of its law.'¹ Whence also we see the wisdom of Professor Henry Jones's avowal that 'the wiser our social work, the more shall we believe in reform, and the less we shall trust in revolution; and the better we understand revolutions the clearer we shall see that, so far as they have had lasting value, they were simply evolution with its steps somewhat hastened.'²

But all social evolution involves individualism in a most real and inevitable sense. Mr. Herbert Spencer's dictum that 'the individual development in a given period is determined by the corresponding development of the social organism,' is often quoted, and contains much truth. But who does not see that the reverse is equally true? For whence is to come the improvement of any 'social organism' save from the improvement of the individuals that compose it? Here always has been, is, and ever will be, the crux of Collectivism. Its ultimate appeal, after all, cannot but be to the individual. But it is just here that, taken *per se*, it trebly fails. It is obliged to depend upon externals—i.e. to deal with things rather than with men—to work only

¹ *Quintessence*, p. 126. ² *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1905, p. 58.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

from without, as though environment, working on heredity, were the sole creator of character. It is obliged, again, to assume the moral perfection of human nature, which is contrary alike to history, observation, and experience. It is compelled, finally, in reducing competition to a vanishing quantity, to reduce to a corresponding minimum the strongest incentive to that strenuous exertion which is necessary to social well-being—viz. personal reward attained through competition. It is easy, of course, to aver that altruistic sentiment will take the place of this. But, unfortunately, the facts are very largely against such an estimate. There will have to be brought about a revolution in human nature, both real and great, before the not-self, as a motive power, can be equal to the self.

Here is at once the need and the scope for true Christianity. Without at all pitting Christian faith against Socialistic conviction, but rather as suggesting the means whereby alone the latter can be realized, we may here simply enumerate, attempting no elaboration, the chief potencies of the former.

*The Social value
of Christianity.*

(1) It starts necessarily and always with the individual, and in every case its seat of influence is his 'inmost soul'; for, whatever be the environment, character, like health, necessarily involves active response from within. In the degree to which Christian conviction is real it affects the entire man. His 'whole spirit and soul and body' are subject to that 'law of Christ' which not only forbids selfishness, but commands to 'bear one another's burdens.' Thus (2) it cannot but insist upon a human brotherhood as real as the divine Fatherhood upon which it is based—the ever-distinctive features of Christian brotherhood being that it is not optional, and

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

has no limits,¹ whilst the content of its conception of brotherhood is as vast as the extent. Not 'the greatest happiness,' but the greatest blessedness of 'the greatest number' alone satisfies its ideal of a social millennium.

(3) Two other elements, moreover, of the superior potency of Christian faith as a reforming influence must by no means be forgotten. First, it involves the never-failing presence and power of a personal dynamic, too tender and too mighty as a source of obligation for a non-disciple ever to appreciate, or a true disciple ever to forget. 'If ye love Me, keep My commandments' simply expresses the unmistakable claim of the sublime Saviour-Master to the very highest degree of that 'hero-worship' which in some measure is created by every born leader of men.² Such a claim, sincerely acknowledged, becomes the most potent character-stimulus conceivable.

(4) Then, also, the fact that Christ's leadership, equally with the love-allegiance of His followers, is held by Christian faith to be death-proof, may be an easy target for the scoffs of Agnostic Socialism, but it is, all the same, a most actual and effective force in all Christian efforts towards

¹ It could scarcely be better expressed than in Mr. Blatchford's own words: 'To me it seems that beyond question the spread of Altruism is the most important consummation in the progress of social evolution. Altruism, indeed, is more important than Socialism itself. Given universal love for man, and we should have something better than Socialism itself' (*Altruism*, p. 6). And yet this same writer, as an ardent Socialist, elsewhere avers that the religion which involves the largest Altruism the world has ever known stood 'in his way,' and therefore must be 'attacked'!

² With all respect to Lord Rosebery, Napoleon's estimate of Christ's spell over humanity, as stated in Liddon's *Bampton Lectures* (p. 148), is entirely true to facts: 'To this hour millions would die for Him.'

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

bringing to pass the kingdom of heaven upon earth. For that which admits of measureless perpetuation and development, must ever be worthy of more pains and cost than that which blooms only to decay and flourishes only to disappear. The larger hope is thus the very soul of the nobler Socialism.

In a final word, therefore, we cannot but earnestly suggest that the surest way to promote that acceleration of the pace of social evolution which constitutes the only valid optimism, is in the Christian
Socialism. definite acknowledgement and thorough carrying out of true Christian Socialism. This term assuredly should signify neither a mere nebulous, pietistic philanthropy, nor an absolute committal of every Christian sympathizer with social reform at once and for ever to the whole programme of Collectivism. Rather may we plead that all childish fright at the word Socialism ought as surely to cease, as also ought all coarse jibing at Christian essentials. The Evangelical reformer and the Collectivist may go a long way together, and do a great deal of good through unanimity of aim and motive. And even if, at the choice of method, they must needs part company, it should yet be with mutual respect and more than willingness to learn from each other. Then, seeing that Socialism generally works from without inwards, and Christianity from within outwards, there might well come to pass in the social organism the same beneficent result as Dr. W. B. Carpenter describes in the physical¹: 'The complete organ is the joint product of two distinct developmental actions, taking place in opposite directions—a growing inwards from the skin, and a growing

¹ *Modern Review*, October, 1884, p. 665. 'The Development of the Eye of the Chick in Ovo.'

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

outwards from the brain. Neither of these developmental processes would be of any use without the other. It is only by the conjunction of the two that this most perfect and elaborate instrument is brought into existence.' So, one may affirm with all assurance, only in the degree in which the spiritual forces represented by Christianity, working through character upon environment, *co-operate* with the economic forces idealized by Socialism, working through environment upon character, will that purer, fairer, nobler social organism ever be brought into existence,

When the schemes and all the systems,
Kingdoms and republics fall,
Something kindlier, higher, holier,
All for each and each for all.

Meanwhile, if only mutual recriminations would cease, and every man, whether within the Christian Church or without, would awake to his social responsibility, there are plain duties which lie ever close at hand. More especially is the way open for the true disciple of Christ to prove the reality of his spiritual devotion in his response to present opportunities for social service. He can openly avow that the duties of citizenship are an integral part of every man's 'salvation.' He can fulfil the apostolic maxim, 'Look not every man upon his own things,' by studying the modern social problems which involve so much of injustice, oppression, suffering, and despair, to myriads of his fellow countrymen. He can regard his every chance to vote as a sacred trust. He can join with all other earnest workers, so that united effort may accomplish what is impossible to individual chivalry. Last, though by no means least, he can bear continually in mind that, when all is said and done, the

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

most powerful of all agencies for good throughout human society is the influence of character upon character. This he can exercise everywhere and always, in ceaseless acts of tender sympathy and practical kindness. These may be sometimes scornfully termed 'mere social palliatives,' but they most really help to bring about both the radical cure and the ultimate prevention of general social wrongs. If it be agreed that social revolution spells only ruin, and that social evolution is the one sure hope of the future, then, on scientific, quite as emphatically as on religious grounds, every contribution, however small, to the betterment of society, is manifestly of definite value. It is in regard to every opportunity for such a personal exercise of practical sympathy, as compared with to-day's strenuous call to economic reform upon the national scale, that the words of Christ find their most potent application: 'This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.'

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- History of Socialism.* T. Kirkup. (Black, 7s. 6d. net.)
Expanded from *Encyclopædia Britannica*. A friendly survey by a non-Socialist.
- Quintessence of Socialism.* A. Schäffle. (Sonnenschein, 2s. 6d.)
By a German economist—a non-Socialist. It is fair, but identifies Socialism too much with Karl Marx. Worth reading.
- Fabian Essays on Socialism.* (276, Strand. 2s.)
Mostly by University graduates — advocates of piece-meal Socialism.
- Socialism.* Dr. Flint. (Isbister, 7s. 6d.)
An able and hostile criticism of Socialism from a Christian point of view.
- Christianity and Socialism.* Dr. W. Nicholas. (Charles H. Kelly, 3s.)
A hostile criticism from the Irish Methodist point of view.
- The Attitude of the Churches to some of the Social Problems of Town Life.* H. Moore Ede. (Cambridge University Press, 2s.)
Very useful. Not Socialistic, but Social Christian.
- Modern Socialism.* R. C. K. Ensor. (Harper & Brothers, 3s. 6d.)
A valuable series of papers by Socialists.
- Individualism and Collectivism.* Dr. Saleeby. (Williams & Norgate, 2s. 6d.)
A plea for the former.
- Essays in Socialism.* E. Belfort Bax. (Grant Richards, 3s. 6d.)
Instructive compendium of latest non-Christian Socialism.
- Our Industrial Outcasts.* Will Reason. (Melrose, 2s. 6d.)
Specially valuable papers by Free Church ministers.
- Social Salvation.* Washington Gladden. (Jas. Clarke & Co.)
- Christianity and Socialism.* S. E. Keeble. (F. Griffiths, 6d. net.)
Sympathetic with Socialism.

'SEE AND SERVE'

PART II LABOUR AND POVERTY

*Except the Lord keep the city,
the watchman waketh but in
vain.*

PSALM cxxvii. 1.

CHAPTER VI
LABOUR: ITS HISTORY,
CONDITIONS,
AND PROSPECTS

C. ENSOR WALTERS
WEST END MISSION, LONDON

We have much studied and much perfected, of late, the great civilized invention of the division of labour; only we give it a false name. It is not, truly speaking, the labour that is divided, but the men—divided into mere segments of men, broken into small fragments and crumbs of life. The great cry that rises from all our manufacturing cities, louder than their furnace blast, is all in very deed for this—that we manufacture everything there except men; we blanch cotton, we strengthen steel, we refine sugar, we shape pottery; but to brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single living spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantages.

JOHN RUSKIN.

Some people, who ought to know better, are very fond of talking about 'the progress of the working classes' in the last fifty years; and the Jubilee of our late Queen recently afforded ample opportunity—for such people to talk nonsense. But to compare the wages of labour properly, we must go back a hundred years and more, and not fifty; for fifty years ago the English workman was passing through a period of misery which we must devoutly hope, for the sake of the nation at large, will not occur again.

H. DE B. GIBBINS, M.A.

CHAPTER VI

LABOUR: ITS HISTORY, CONDITIONS, AND PROSPECTS

The two standard demands of an industrial democracy, a living wage and a maximum of leisure, are primarily ethical demands.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

THE history of the working classes in this country—and in all countries—is a history of sufferings and struggles, and of aspirations towards a better material and moral life.

Neglected by the privileged classes—although there have been some notable exceptions to this—the toilers have largely worked out their own salvation. To-day, in the great mass of trades, money wages are much higher, and the workman obtains a larger supply of commodities in return for his labour than ever before. In many cases the hours of labour are shorter, the conditions of work are better, and the general standard of life has been raised. The general lot of the worker has undoubtedly been improved; the sanitary condition of his dwelling has been revolutionized, the education of his children is more efficient, whilst he has opportunities for culture unknown in former days. Libraries, museums, art galleries, music, and healthy recreations are accessible to him. In short, discouraging as are the circumstances

LABOUR: ITS HISTORY,

of masses of the working classes, the conditions of skilled artisans are in every respect better than ever before.

I

The greatest factor in improving the lot of the worker has been the Trade Union Movement. No survey of the history of labour is complete without some account of the wonderful history and accomplishments of that movement. The chief purpose of a trade union is, according to Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb—perhaps the greatest authorities on trade unionism—the protection of the standard of life and the supply of organized resistance to any innovation likely to tend to the degradation of wage-earners as a class. A trade union is ‘a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment.’¹ There is no evidence of the existence of trade unions prior to 1700—although in some senses the present-day trade union is a successor of the old English guild, and still more of a long series of irregular secret combinations. Undoubtedly long before the eighteenth century working people combined against their employers to secure the betterment of their condition, but it is not until that century that we hear complaints of such combination—complaints which culminated, in the middle of the century, in a multitude of petitions and counter-petitions, which revealed the existence of strong associations of workers in the skilled trades. These combinations, which sprang from the meeting of wage-earners of the same trade for

The Trade
Union
Movement.

¹ *History of Trade Unionism.* (Longmans & Co.)

CONDITIONS, AND PROSPECTS

social purposes, grew to an extent so alarming in the eyes of employers that in 1799 a statute was passed forbidding all trade combination for the advance of wages.

The real pioneers of the movement were the woollen workers of the West of England and the Midland frame-work knitters. They initiated a policy which became the policy of all trade unions: the appeal to the Government and the House of Commons to protect wage-earners from the custom of employers of buying labour—like raw materials—in the cheapest market. From 1799 onwards there was agitation against the prohibition of combination. The leading agitator of the early nineteenth century was Francis Place, a master (formerly a journeyman) tailor, who was a disciple of Bentham and James Mill, and had a business near Charing Cross. The shop of Francis Place became a centre of agitation on behalf of the right of the workers to combine. The agitation was successful, and in 1822 a Bill was brought into Parliament to repeal the Combination Laws, and so quickly was it smuggled through that, before employers realized the fact, the unions were given a legal status. During the twenty years which followed, the movement was largely carried forward on political lines, and the combination of workers was used to secure manhood suffrage and other reforms. Strikes became common, and there was general alarm amongst the employing classes at the growing power of the working man—an alarm that increased in 1834, when it was discovered that attempts were being made to secure, not merely the union of members of the same trade, but a union of the members of all trades. In 1845 a National Association of Trades was formed,

Pioneers.

LABOUR: ITS HISTORY,

followed in 1850 by a meeting in Birmingham, when it was resolved to amalgamate all the separate unions into one under the name of 'The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Pattern-makers.' From this time onward remarkable progress was made, a Trades Union Act passed into law, and the influence of the working classes became of wider significance than ever before. Later on followed the establishment of the Parliament of Labour—viz. the Trades Union Congress—and the attempt to secure the direct representation of labour in the House of Commons. In 1868 two trade unionists went to the poll, but were defeated. From 1871 to 1880 there were further developments. Additional legislation was passed in the interests of the workers until, in 1876, an amendment of the Trade Union Act was passed which conceded all the chief demands of the unionists. Labour was freed from restrictive law, the unions were placed on an equality with all other associations, and liberty was granted to all alike, with such protection as was needed to prevent that liberty being infringed. From that time onward trade unionism has, to a considerable extent, lived down the aversion the general public formerly entertained for it. But the employing class has never become wholly reconciled to the movement, and their allies in law gave it a serious set-back in the famous Taff Vale decision of 1900. The Bills recently brought before Parliament demonstrate that certain reforms of the law are still necessary to give back to the unions the position they held from 1870, and to complete their emancipation. They have, however, won public recognition, and where they were once abused they now are represented on Town Councils, County Councils,

CONDITIONS, AND PROSPECTS

and in Parliament itself. Mr. Sidney Webb points out that so great has been the growth of the movement that in 1900 1,905,116 members were enrolled in the various unions, and a sum no less than £3,766,625 was in the hands of the various societies for the carrying on of the work.

II

Chief amongst the reforms secured since the commencement of the Trade Union Movement are the Factory Acts, the reduction in the hours of labour, and the establishment of a standard rate of wages. The Factory Acts stand out as a conspicuous example of what may be accomplished by a union between Labour and the legislators. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the ordinary working day of the artisan varied from eleven to fourteen hours, but in mills and factories they were far longer. In 1817 the stocking-makers of Leicester were working fourteen and fifteen hours per day; but even these were not so long as the hours of children who were employed in factories as 'apprentices.' These unfortunate children often worked from sixteen to eighteen hours a day, and the first Act passed to limit this toil in 1802 only reduced the day to twelve hours; while children who were not pauper apprentices, but were sent to the mills by their parents, could be worked as long as their employer chose. In 1819 Sir Robert Peel secured the passing of a second Factory Act which placed the limit at which a child should go to work at nine years, and fixed the hours of labour for children between nine and sixteen years of age at seventy-two hours per week, exclusive of meal times.

LABOUR: ITS HISTORY,

It was not long after this that an agitation arose amongst the working classes for a ten-hours' day. Richard Oastler was the leader in this agitation, and he was supported in Parliament by Lord Ashley (afterwards known as the Earl of Shaftesbury). Lord Shaftesbury succeeded in securing the attention of the country to the dreadful conditions of labour in English factories, and the cruelties and enormities daily perpetrated there, with the result that in 1833 a Bill was introduced by the Government by which children from nine to thirteen were to work only forty-eight hours a week. Young persons from thirteen to eighteen years of age were to work sixty-nine hours; but all persons over eighteen had to work as long as their employers chose. This Act accomplished good, but as many of its regulations were evaded, the agitation for shorter hours continued. In 1847 a Ten-hours' Bill was introduced which concerned labour of women and children, and male labour indirectly. In spite of the fiercest opposition, it became law. In 1850 a still more stringent Act was passed, and the ten-hours' day in factories became an accomplished fact.

III

The successful passing of the Factory Acts—which, of course, affected only certain districts—encouraged the trade unionist agitation for shorter hours.

Shorter Hours.

In 1851 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers sought to obtain a ten-hours' day; and in 1853, in the London building trades, there was a struggle to lessen the working hours to nine. In 1871 the eight-hours' day was adopted as an ideal for trade unionists, and at a congress in London it was resolved that 'the

CONDITIONS, AND PROSPECTS

productive powers and skill of the operatives of this country have arrived at a state of perfection which guarantees that eight hours' labour a day will answer all the commercial, national, and domestic requirements of the population; and that, moreover, such a reduction is necessary on sanitary and moral grounds.' In 1874 an Act was passed which reduced the hours of operatives to fifty-six and a half per week. To-day the majority of trade unionists seek the establishment by law of an eight-hours' day for all trades. But trade unionism has not only secured shorter hours, but higher pay for the worker. The higher pay has ^{Rate of Wages.} been obtained by the insistence on a minimum wage in all the chief trades. Payment according to a definite standard is an article of belief amongst all trade unionists. This is, let it be noticed, consistent with the widest possible divergence between the actual weekly incomes of different workmen; for this standard rate is not only a definite sum per hour, but also a list of piecework prices. It is often argued that the standard rate is 'setting a premium on idleness and incapacity,' and is 'destructive to the legitimate ambition of industry and merit.' The fact that so much is paid for piecework is an answer to this, and, as Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb point out in their *Industrial Democracy*,¹ even where workmen in trades are paid by the hour this does not imply equality of remuneration, for wherever special skill is required the employer finds it advantageous to pay a higher rate, and the trade union encourages this practice; and even where the employer rigidly adheres to the common or minimum rate the superior workman finds his advantage, if not in actually higher money, then in

¹ *Industrial Democracy*. (Longmans & Co.)

LABOUR: ITS HISTORY,

the more agreeable forms of his employment. Much as the standard rate has been attacked, it cannot be demonstrated that it has lessened the efficiency of the working man; but it can be demonstrated that it has secured for him a higher, if not always a living wage. The trouble chiefly comes from the practice of making the trade union minimum the employers' maximum rate of wages.

IV

The trade union is not the only movement, however, which has improved the lot of the worker. Another ^{The Co-operative Movement.} movement runs side by side with it—viz. the Co-operative Movement. According to Mr. George Jacob Holyoake,¹ English Co-operation 'is a system of commerce and industry consisting of societies of working people in which the business profits of a store are given to the purchaser and the profits of the workshop to the workers. The division of profit in the store is made according to the amount of custom, and in the workshop according to the amount of wages.' This ideal is not yet realized in relation to workshops. But the original object of co-operation was even more ambitious. It sought to establish self-supporting communities, distinguished by common property and common means of recreation. These were to be examples of industrialism freed from competition. The real founder of the movement was a man of noble ideals—
^{Robert Owen.} Robert Owen, who was born in Montgomeryshire in 1771, and died there in his eighty-eighth year. Owen, a successful cotton-mill owner, succeeded his father-

¹ *The Co-operative Movement To-day.* (Methuen & Co.)

CONDITIONS, AND PROSPECTS

in-law in the control of the Lanark Mills. He foresaw the evils of the new industry, and tried to prevent them. He quickly demonstrated how, by co-operation, Capital and Labour could be united. He combated the notion that all profit should come to Capital, and that the chief duty of an employer is to lecture his employés on the duty of being content with their wages. Well-fitted rooms for cooking, halls for classes of instruction, experienced teachers, were supplied by him for his work-people. Owen was eager to apply his system to society as a whole, and his ideals fired the imagination of many of the working-class leaders of his day. But he was before his time. The system of colonies or co-operative communities, founded as a result of his teaching, were failures, handicapped as they were by materialistic theories of life. Since Owen's day many unsuccessful attempts have been made to found both co-operative communities and co-operative workshops. To-day there are signs of a revival of Owen's ideas, and one may prophesy that this century will witness advance on the lines he laid down. As it is, Robert Owen is the admitted father of the Factory Acts, the Education Acts, the Co-operative Movement, Municipal Socialism, and other fruitful social reforms.

The Co-operative Movement, which eliminates the middle man in trade, has been a gigantic commercial success. In 1904 there were 2,078,178 members of co-operative societies, and the sales amounted to £59,311,934, and a profit (largely distributed in dividends) of £9,411,348 was realized. It is estimated that about 10,000,000 of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom have dealings at the stores of these societies. The centre of the movement is in Manchester. It

LABOUR: ITS HISTORY,

requires no argument to demonstrate what immense benefits this movement, after every deduction, confers on the labouring classes.

V

But there is another side to our review of Labour. Trade Unionism, the Co-operative Movement, and humanitarianism in politics, have all combined to improve the lot of the worker. **Poverty.** Notwithstanding this there are masses of people whose economic circumstances show that the improvement has been far from universal. The fore-named movements have mainly benefited certain classes of skilled workers. Mr. Charles Booth, in his *Life and Labour of the People*, points out that about 32 per cent. of the four millions of the population of London fall within his four classes of poverty, because they earn not more than a guinea a week per family. Taking into account the poor of the provinces, in city, town, and village, it is probable that close upon 30 per cent. of the working classes are in a state of 'chronic want'—insufficiently paid, improperly fed and clothed, and inadequately housed. Mr. Sidney Webb¹ has successfully combated the idea that this huge residuum, existing on starvation wages, is made up entirely of unskilled labourers, women plying the needle, and drunkards and wastrels of all kinds. 'The Sheffield fork-grinders, for instance, working at a horribly unhealthy and laborious trade, are constantly found working at time-work for 16s. to 20s. for a full week of fifty-six hours, subject to considerable reductions for lost time. . . . Even in the comparatively prosperous textile

¹ *Labour in the Longest Reign.* (Grant Richards.)

CONDITIONS, AND PROSPECTS

industries there are large classes of men working as weavers, card-room operatives, &c., who do not make £1 a week. . . . Out of the four millions of women working for wages at the present time, a very large percentage must be earning practically no better subsistence than their grandmothers did.'

And this is the more remarkable when the growth of the country's wealth is remembered. In his volume entitled *The Wonderful Century*, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace points out that sixty or Growth of
Wealth. seventy years ago a millionaire was a rarity. Now they are to be reckoned by scores, if not by hundreds, in this country, whilst in America they are estimated to number about two thousand. The wealth of the country is unjustly distributed. For instance, the annual produce of labour in our country is estimated at £1,350,000,000 sterling, yet one million persons among the wealthy classes receive more than twice as much of this income as the twenty-six millions constituting the labouring class. The annual income of the country was estimated in 1905 at £1,710,000,000. Half of this, speaking roughly, went into the pockets of five out of the forty-three millions of our population.¹ Who can rest content until there is a more equitable distribution?

VI

But the poverty of many of the present-day workers is not their only ill. In spite of factory legislation, there is still an enormous injury to the health of the worker in the existence of unhealthy and Deadly Trades. dangerous trades. Mrs. C. Mallett has pointed out, in a

¹ *Riches and Poverty*. L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P. (Methuen.)

LABOUR: ITS HISTORY,

pamphlet on *Dangerous Trades for Women*, that girl who do the carding in the linen trade lose their health in about twelve years. In alkali works the very strongest men do not live, as a rule, to be fifty; glass-blowers become prematurely old at forty, and in the Potteries and amongst Sheffield grinders and tile-makers, deaths from phthisis are three times as numerous as among other workers. But all these trades are inferior in deadliness to the white lead manufacture, in which numbers of girls and women are employed. In this trade the percentage of deaths is higher than in any other; the children born of these workers often die of convulsions. Even more distressing than poison by white lead is that by phosphorus in the match factories. Dr. Russel Wallace¹ declares that phosphorus is not necessary to make matches; but being a trifle cheaper and a little easier to light, is still largely used. Its effect on the worker is most distressing. It is no exaggeration to say that thousands are done to death in these unhealthy trades. The average life of an upper-class person is fifty-five years, but the average life of the lower-class artisan and worker is only twenty-nine years. This is proof positive of an absolutely unsatisfactory state of affairs.

VII

As in the past working-class betterment has partly come from effort in that class, there is evidence that the full emancipation of the worker will come in the same way. The Labour Movement was never more efficient or powerful than it is to-day. In some respects it differs from the labour movement of

Modern Labour
Movement.

¹ *The Wonderful Century*. (Sonnenschein & Co.).

CONDITIONS, AND PROSPECTS

former days. The earlier trade unionists either eschewed politics altogether or threw in their lot with one of the great political parties. There are many who follow the latter course to-day. But an increasing number are freeing themselves from party trammels, and are seeking, by the work of an independent party, whose chief aim is to voice the aspirations of the workers, to secure the ends of labour. In 1889 an open conference was held of the representatives of Trades Unionism and Co-operation and the Independent Labour Party to consider what means could be devised for securing a more adequate representation of labour in the House of Commons. At this conference the Labour Representation Committee came into existence, its object being: 'To secure by united action the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an affiliated society or societies in the constituency who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament with its own whips and its own policy on labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative party, and not to oppose any other candidate recognized by this Committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decisions of the group in carrying out the aims of this constitution, or to resign, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only.' The Labour Representation Committee is financed by each affiliated organization paying ten shillings for each thousand members. This is for working expenses. In addition there is a Payment of Members fund, to which each affiliated society contributes one penny per member

LABOUR: ITS HISTORY,

per annum, and by means of which every member elected to Parliament is paid at the rate of £200 per annum.

The recent election is most noteworthy because of the triumph of Labour. Thirty of the candidates nominated by the Labour Representation Committee were elected. These form a distinct party in the House of Commons, with Mr. Keir Hardie as leader. Their presence already has had a marked effect on the Labour policy of the present Government. In addition, many Labour men sit on the Government benches, whilst the appointment of Mr. John Burns as President of the Local Government Board is an earnest of the dawn of a new day. The signs of the times point to the full emancipation of the worker.

To the Christian Church it is a matter for thankfulness that so many of the leaders of the Labour Movement are earnest disciples of Christ, whilst others, less emphatic in their religious beliefs, reverence His name and are inspired by His teaching. In this respect the English Labour Movement differs from the kindred movement on the Continent. There the workers are turning from organized Christianity to a Socialism which, whilst holding many of the doctrines of Christ, denies His divinity, and regards the Church as a foe. In this country we have been saved from this deplorable condition of affairs by teachers who have not hesitated to claim for the teaching of Jesus the ultimate authority to rule social life, laws, and practice, who have represented Christ as the Friend of the oppressed and the true Leader of democracy. There is abundant evidence that the working men of this country are turning to Christ, and are learning that in Him there is hope for their material, moral, and spiritual reformation.

CONDITIONS, AND PROSPECTS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Industrial Democracy (12s. net.); *The History of Trade Unionism* (7s. 6d.). Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. (Longmans & Co.)

These are standard works, and must be studied by all who desire to know the history of labour, and its conditions and prospects to-day.

The Co-operative Movement To-day. George Jacob Holyoake. (Methuen & Co., 2s. 6d.)

A compact and eloquent account of the Co-operative Movement.

Trade Unionism New and Old. George Howell. (Methuen & Co., 2s. 6d.)

A brief history of the Trade Union Movement.

A Shorter Working Day. R. A. Hadfield and H. De B. Gibbins. (Methuen & Co., 2s. 6d.)

An excellent history of the agitation to secure shorter hours.

The Labour Movement. L. T. Hobhouse. (T. Fisher Unwin, 1s. net.)

A defence of economic reform, and a plea for the removal of economic evils and the correlation of Co-operation and Trade Unionism.

CHAPTER VII
POVERTY: ITS FACTS
AND PROBLEMS

WILLIAM F. LOFTHOUSE, M.A.
HANDSWORTH COLLEGE, BIRMINGHAM.

Capitalist employers rarely make the mistake of paying too much for bad labour, but they have constantly, as a matter of history, committed the worse error of paying too little for good labour. The mere figures of pauperism can give no idea of the vast amount of misery and degradation which the majority of the working classes suffered (at the Industrial Revolution). Everywhere we find cruelty and oppression, and in many cases the workmen were but slaves, bound to fulfil their masters' command under fear of dismissal and starvation. Freedom they had in name: freedom to starve and die; but not freedom to speak, still less to act, as citizens of a free state.

H. DE B. GIBBINS, M.A.

Some day the individualistic community, on which we build our faith, will be obliged, for its own sake, to take charge of the lives of those who, from whatever cause, are incapable of independent existence up to the required standard.

RT. HON. CHARLES BOOTH.

CHAPTER VII

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

The deplorable truth is that honesty, sobriety, and willingness to work, do not suffice to save thousands of worthy people from the harsh clutches of permanent pauperism.—A. SCOTT MATHESON.

THE facts of poverty might be said to be all the facts touched upon in this book, and all the problems here discussed are problems of poverty. We may analyse our consideration of poverty under the various heads of rent, wages, labour, drink, and the like ; but poverty is a single disease, although with many symptoms, and unless we study it as a single disease, we shall never hope to come at a cure.

The following pages are intended to suggest the lines along which the study may best be commenced ; that is to say, how we may best collect our facts, understand our problem, and advance to its solution.

Four questions have to be answered : What constitutes poverty ? what is the extent of poverty ? what are its causes ? and where shall we find the remedies ?

I

With most of us the term poverty is very indefinite. Living in a poor or crowded house, having insufficient meals, looking ill-clad and dirty, being unable to get

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

work: all these may suggest poverty to the sympathetic or the inquiring. But one family may look tidy and comfortable on thirty shillings a week, ^{What constitutes Poverty?} another wretched and neglected on twice that sum. An income that is opulence for three persons may mean starvation when it is shared among seven. Wages which nine persons out of ten would call insufficient may be practically doubled by thrift, self-respect, and absence of accidents; ill-health, drink, bad management, or misfortune may push the most liberal wages down to the poverty-line.

But it is possible to say something more definite than this. Poverty must surely mean insufficiency of the necessities of life, or of the wherewithal to procure them; lack of the proper amount of food, clothing, and shelter. Under shelter we must include fresh air, and under each head we must set one more necessary, the absence of which vitiates all the rest—the means of cleanliness.

What are the proper amounts? In the case of food it is not easy to tell; even among healthy people appetites have an awkward habit of varying. But we can strike an average with a fair degree of confidence. Medical authority is inclined to place the amount of food needed each day by an adult doing muscular work at 3,500 'calories,' or heat-producing units; a woman or boy will require eight-tenths of this amount; a child of eight years one-half, and so on. The ordinary reader will not be able to estimate for himself, probably, the number of calories consumed by any family in which he is interested; but he can take, as a standard with which to compare the food of a family, the dietary allowed by the nearest Board of Guardians, and any doctor would work out the sum in 'calories' for him; or he may take, as a still rougher

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

working standard, three shillings each per week for adults, and two shillings and threepence for children.

With regard to clothing the question is easier. Let the reader work out for himself the lowest price for the minimum of clothing needed in our climate by a respectable man, woman, and child ; taking simply cotton and worsted goods, he will find that the price will hardly be below seventy shillings each for the man and the woman, and twenty shillings for a child. This, for a family of three children, means a total expenditure on cotton and worsted goods alone of £10 a year, or, roughly, about four shillings a week.

When we consider shelter, no hard and fast line can be drawn. Rents vary immensely, from seven shillings and over for a single room in London, to a shilling or so for a cottage or a hovel in the rural districts. The law demands that there should be four hundred cubic feet of space for each person in a dwelling, exclusive of space taken up by furniture ; this is the minimum. Huxley would give to each person eight hundred cubic feet of space well ventilated with pure air, yet there are 900,000 people in London living with less than half that amount. Shelter raises another consideration—decency. On this the less said the better. Still, the investigator cannot shirk his work. The visitor to any poor street must force himself to face the question, ‘What do these people do at night?’ And what happens when a respectable family which includes, let us say, six persons of various ages, finds itself cooped up with two, three, or even four other families, in a single tenement ?¹

Morality and decency have not yet been killed, even by such desperate conditions as these ; and this says much

¹ See p. 41.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

for human nature and Christianity. But where decency is safe, consider the foul air of the rooms, where ventilation is impossible, and where the bedroom is also the wash-house ; where the bathroom (if there is a bath) is also the kitchen, and where the one water-tap is shared with eight other dwellings. Think, too, of the problem of cleanliness, either for clothes or food. The wonder is that the struggle against dirt of surroundings, both of body and of mind, does not oftener end in defeat. Those who know best the combatants in this dreary warfare will best appreciate the courage they exhibit, and the terrible odds they face.

By any one who would render effective social service, poverty must be studied systematically ; but it cannot be studied from books. Personal contact alone will give life to the study. Poverty breeds suspicion, and suspicion breeds dislike and hatred ; but by tact and genuine sympathy suspicion and reserve will be disarmed, confidences will be gained, 'family budgets' described,¹ and the sordid tragedy of too little food, too little clothing, and too little air, continued from month to month and year to year into a despairing or hopeless old age, will be revealed. Imagination and the observant eye will tell the rest. Weakened stamina means weakened morals ; you have no right to expect a healthy mind in an unhealthy body ; all the uplifting forces of education and recreation are neutralized ; the dangerous excitements of drink, gambling, and other forms of self-indulgence grow more and more clamorous ; and when once the door is opened to these, the way lies onward to pauperism or crime, or the helpless and menacing degradation of the cellar dwelling and the common lodging-house.

¹ Compare Rowntree, *Poverty*, ch. viii. p. 222, and Barnett, *Practicable Socialism*, pp. 14, 63.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

II

What is the extent of poverty? On this point, also, the teaching of experience is more valuable than the perusal of figures. It is usual at present to divide the 'poor' into two classes, primary and secondary. If we draw a line representing the bare necessities of life, as just discussed, primary poverty will stand for all that is beneath that line; secondary poverty for all that is on the line, or for what is sometimes just over it, at other times just underneath. The two most careful investigators of recent times, Messrs. Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree, have arrived by independent methods at very similar results. Below the line, in primary poverty, they each estimate, roughly, about one-tenth of the total population. That is to say, for every ten men, women, and children in the country, one is in chronic need of something that is absolutely necessary to maintain life at the minimum of efficiency. On the line, in secondary poverty, is one-fifth more of the population; that is to say, two more persons out of every ten are in constant danger, through accident or disease or misconduct or bereavement, of falling into primary poverty. Mr. Booth's conclusion is that, 'after deducting loafers and criminals, 29·8 per cent. of the people are in perpetual poverty owing to the family earnings being less than 21s. a week.' Mr. Rowntree defines, as in a state of secondary poverty, 'those families whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency, were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful.'¹ In this he

¹ Booth, *Life and Labour*, i. p. 178; Rowntree, *Poverty*, p. 296.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

includes 17·93 of the population of York, making, with 9·9 of primary poverty (families whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency), nearly 30 per cent. of the population of what he believes to be a typical English city. Mr. P. H. Mann has arrived, by the same methods, at similar results for the village of Ridgemount, in Bedfordshire. Rural poverty corresponds to urban.

Now it is perfectly true that all figures must be used with caution. The best methods of estimating the incomes of a mass that may amount to nearly one-third of the population must be somewhat speculative. Moreover, the line can be easily crossed, and is no doubt crossed by many families and individuals several times over. The history of many individuals is a record of a series of such crossings. The young child is often *pinched* for food; when the lad begins to earn, things go better with his family and with himself; when he first marries, he and his wife are perhaps both earning, and they live in comparative affluence. When the children begin to come, the pinch recurs; they are better off when the children's earnings commence; but when the children grow up and leave them, they drop once more below the line into pauperism.

Again, as Mrs. Bosanquet says, 'it is not the amount of money which makes the true poverty line.' Money, like the want of it, influences character; and character influences the amount of money that can be earned. A man, and still more a woman, may be receiving less than will support life—a less than 'living' wage. This ought to be impossible. The frequency of the case results not only from the greed of employers, but also from the weakness, physical or moral, of workers who cannot

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

offer labour that will fetch any more in the market ; and if moral weakness is not actually caused by physical need, it is made fatally easy thereby. In this connexion we may quote the words of Canon Barnett : ' Wages of twenty-five shillings or even forty shillings a week are not sufficient, and there are thousands who cannot even count on this wage.'¹ Double the income of a family in primary poverty, and you will probably find them in their original condition in a week—unless, indeed, they have never left it ; double their strength of character, and you will either find them permanently raised into a higher class, or exhibiting a cheerfulness and courage that make poverty seem a cheap price for such acquirements.

Make all deductions, however, and the figures still show an alarming evil to be encountered. If it is true that poverty means lack of character, either as cause or as result, then the fact that 30 per cent. of our population are thus morally weak must cause the gravest misgivings and stimulate the most determined redemptive efforts. In any case, the question is not to be decided off-hand. The student must acquire experience for himself. Whatever be his general impressions, he will find that among the causes of poverty are qualities confined to no one section of society ; that indolence, love of gossip, self-indulgence, ill-health, and the habit of mind that is content to wait ' for something to turn up,' may be free from visible bad results in certain cases ; but that when they are joined with poor food, uncertain work, absence of healthy recreation, all the noise and nervous irritation of crowded and insanitary dwellings

¹ *Practicable Socialism*, p. 5. See also the note on p. 74 and p. 242.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

and totally inadequate wages, they mean a danger that is terrible to contemplate for those who have learnt to love their neighbour as themselves.

Figures, however, gain a fresh importance when we ask whether poverty is increasing. As regards pauperism, the figures are accessible enough. Taking the last thirty years, the proportion of paupers to total population dropped more or less steadily from 1875, when it was 35 per 1,000 for England and Wales, to 1892, when it had sunk to 27 per 1,000; in 1901 it was just under 25 per 1,000, and now it stands at 27·9. Until 1892, pauperism in London was lower than in the rest of the country; since then it has been higher, and has not declined at all—indeed, it has increased. These figures, however, do not tell us as much as they might. The practice of individual Boards of Guardians in administering relief, and so creating paupers, varies greatly; and it is always possible for a wave, either of laxity or of strictness of administration, to pass over the country, as in the early years of the last century. If we consider the figures of old-age pauperism, it appears that, in 1871, 21 out of every 100 persons in the country over 60 were paupers; in 1881, 15 out of every 100; in 1891, 13 out of every 100. In 1892 19 per cent. of old people over 65 were in receipt of relief, and in 1900 20·9 per cent. This, however, may indicate either an increase in poverty or a difference in its treatment. On the other hand, the reports of the Post Office Savings Bank, the Trustees' Savings Bank, and the great Friendly Societies, all indicate an increase in the savings of the working classes.

That a general improvement has taken place among the working classes as a whole is undeniable. For East

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

London, Mr. Charles Booth says that those who have had a lengthened experience of the region agree that its state was much worse when they first knew it than it is now. The graphic and terrible picture painted in *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, published as late as 1883, would have to be modified to-day in the extent, if not in the depth, of its darkest colours. There has been a steady decrease, until recent years, in the cost of the necessaries and of the simpler luxuries of life. Eighty years ago, imperial taxation amounted to one-fifth of the national income; now it is but a tenth. There has been a general rise in wages through the century; grinding the faces of the poor has been made, if not yet impossible, at least more difficult, by factory legislation; the average family has both more money to spend and cheaper markets in which to spend it.

But, in spite of all this, the solution is not yet in sight. There is no fixed ratio between poverty and prosperity. More wealth may be distributed throughout society without the lowest stratum *being one whit the better off*. Opportunities for social advancement are being placed within the reach of an increasingly large number of people: the curse of real poverty lies in the fact that it is bereft of the power to take advantage of them. The only genuine advance is an advance all along the line. It may be that the facts of poverty show up the more grimly by contrast with the substantial happiness of the great masses of the well-to-do; it may be that more 'horrors' are dragged out into the light of day; and we must be thankful for every mercy vouchsafed to our society. But the situation simply becomes far more serious when, after all our acknowledged progress in material comfort, that comfort is all but a dead letter to

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

more than a quarter of our population ; the broad, well-paved main streets, the electric lights, and the palatial town halls of our cities have not banished the lairs where the children of the homeless poor are growing up in the companionship of thieves and prostitutes.

III

What, then, are the causes of poverty? They have been classified as old age, disease, incapacity, death of the wage-earner, bad times and low wages, drink and vice. Most people are apt to place first on the list the cause by which they have themselves been most deeply impressed. But it is clear that these are not causes in the exact sense of the term ; and, indeed, poverty is as much a cause of these as an effect. Every one of these may exist where poverty is unknown. True, each of these disposes to poverty, and make its cruel approaches harder to resist ; but for the real causes, social and moral, we must look deeper. The widest expression of the law of poverty is found in the solemn words of the Gospel, 'He that hath, to him shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.' Needless to say, the whole social and economic teaching of Christ is the enforcement of direct opposition to the operation of this law.

In the first place, as the old proverb has it, 'Much would have more.' It is equally true that little would have less, and gets less. 'Nothing succeeds like success'; the more money a man or a company or a trust possesses, the more he or it will be in a position to make. Moreover, nothing fails like failure ; the business that has

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

begun to decay, decays at an increasing rate ; when the standard of demand has once fallen, a tremendous effort will be needed before it will rise again. The ill-health that means loss of wage and less food means also prolonged incapacity and weakness grown chronic. Pay the woman who works for you a miserably insufficient wage, and she will grow less and less able to earn more under any conditions. When a few household treasures have found their way to the pawnshop, it grows fatally easy to think the pawnbroker as necessary as the grocer ; by the very make of our bodies and our minds alike, it would seem that desires, once yielded to, however ruinous, grow steadily fiercer in their tyranny.

Secondly, to ordinary humanity, among rich and poor alike, idleness seems as natural as industry. Place a man where work is sure of its reward, even in the agricultural depression of our English counties, and he will work without a murmur. But show him that what desires he has can be satisfied without work, or rob his work either of regularity or of hope, and you have gone far to drain the industry from his character. We have done both these things. We have said that so long as a man simply wants food and clothes and shelter, and is not particular under what conditions these are given, he can have them for the asking, inside the workhouse or even sometimes outside. And we have established an industrial and commercial situation wherein it is morally impossible for a large majority of working people to rise, and where there is an enormous demand for casual labour—a demand that is only too readily supplied.

We may be convinced that all this is inevitable ; that unless we are to allow men and women to starve in our streets, we must relieve indigence, voluntary as well as

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

otherwise ; and that unless we put upon capital a crushing burden, and compel it to pay for services it never demanded, we must have men and women competing for casual jobs and demoralized by season trades. The fact remains that we are breeding idleness, the nurse of poverty—an idleness which is none the less dangerous because it dwells beside feverish and unnatural industry and ruinous overwork.

Thirdly, we live in an age of small profits¹ and quick returns. In the old days before the Reformation, trade and commerce in England, as all over Europe, were in the hands of the guilds ; a member of a guild expected to work or trade in the same manner all his life, and under the same conditions, as naturally as if he were a member of a Hindu caste. And in the ordinary course of things, he could always look forward to making a fairly comfortable living. He might occasionally grow rich ; he was not likely to become very poor ; and, if he were in danger of destitution, his fellow-members could be relied upon to help him through. Slowly industry grew more individual and less social until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the sudden application of machinery to the textile trades and the opening up of the country to new methods of exchange and intercourse occasioned what is known as the 'Industrial Revolution.' Since then industry has been increasingly organized on a basis of machinery. The machine does more and more of the work ; the man or woman sinks more rapidly to the condition of a 'hand.' Such an organization needs capital to plant the machinery and to be always in a position to introduce new improvements ;

¹ Monopolies, trusts, and large joint stock companies are exceptions which illustrate and prove this rule.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

it prefers to run expensive machinery at a loss rather than allow it to stand idle; it depends more and more on a mass of unskilled labour, with a leaven of highly skilled engineers; with improving machinery it can produce gluts, displace large masses of labour, and squeeze out smaller businesses, and hence it dislocates that steady and regular work which is the great bulwark against poverty and extravagance alike.

Is this result inevitable also? Some will say 'Yes'; others will find 'that the trouble is due to a genuine clash of individual interests in a competitive society,' and will argue that improved methods of production can only be a blessing when introduced with due 'regard for the vested interests of other individuals or of society as a whole.'¹ One great principle, however, will emerge clearly enough to the student. Human nature is essentially plastic; within surprisingly wide limits we may make men shiftless and poor, or strong and self-reliant. But if, even with characters which forbid us to hope for them, conditions must bear the bulk of the blame, we can help people to choose right conditions instead of wrong ones; and for conditions, not they, but we, are responsible.

IV

We now turn to the remedies for poverty. As we have made clear already, payment of starvation wages must be made impossible. This, however, Remedies for Poverty. is a question outside the limits of the present chapter. Here, first of all, we must deal with the Poor Law. In theory, this is not a remedy for poverty at all, but simply a complicated instrument for coping with

¹ Cf. J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capital*, p. 208.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

pauperism, or poverty grown dependent. The first Poor Law of 1601 and the new Poor Law of 1834 were both based on the axiom that no one shall be permitted to starve, but that the receiving of relief shall be made as unpleasant as possible. Properly speaking, the Poor Law attempts neither to prevent destitution nor to cure it, but only to help the destitute by keeping body and soul together; and the ideal of its administration has always been the diminution of out-door relief to vanishing point.

Even in this modest aim the Poor Law has often failed; whenever attention has been drawn to its working, its critics have remarked that the persons who need help are just the persons who do not get it, and that the pauper is not merely supported by it, but cultivated. Four causes have contributed to this result: kindness, ignorance, carelessness, and timidity. It is not easy for ordinarily sympathetic persons to resist the temptation to be generous with other people's money. The generosity to applicants for relief that does not distinguish between them is a kindness that is really cruel. But knowledge of the science of relief has always been, and is still, very rare; no problems are more complicated than the problems of character and circumstances, family and earnings, which have to be faced by the Guardians of the Poor: and when the rash experimenter has meddled with these obscure laws, the best intentions have often led to the worst results. Again, to distinguish between applicants, save in a very rough-and-ready way, demands more thought and care than most authorities have the time or inclination to give; in many cases a premium is actually put on a plausible tale and a shrill tongue.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

In the first quarter of the last century all these evils went on unchecked; it was possible for employers of labour to fix wages at starvation rates, and then men who did not choose to work were led to demand their 'reg'lars'—weekly doles which gave them more pay than others could earn by steady work; and every appearance of want, every result of vice, was turned into a claim upon a poor-rate from which the most honest found it hard to turn aside, and which was hurrying the whole country into bankruptcy. It is no wonder that Guardians went in fear of their lives, and that the popularity which a liberal administration of the rates was supposed to win was as nothing beside the surly hatred roused by all hints at economy.

This state of things, as revealed by the Poor Law Commission of 1834, convinced the country, for the time, of the truth of the axiom: 'The minimum of relief, except under stringent workhouse conditions.' But to require the authorities simply to relieve destitution is to ask an impossibility. There are the respectable old men and women whose wages have always been too low to allow them to save. Are they to be scared away from the thought of relief by treatment meant to deter the vagrant and the criminal? There are children, legitimate and illegitimate, whose only sin has been that they could not choose their parents. Are they not to be prevented from following in their parents' steps? There are the tramps and vagrants themselves, 'armies of social parasites, blackmailers, and disseminators of disease, with female and juvenile camp-followers, marching up and down the country, able at any moment to fall back upon their base in the nearest workhouse, if lies and threats fail to collect enough to pay expenses at the

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

common lodging-house.' Are the Guardians to have no weapons by which they may exterminate these, or at least diminish their swollen ranks?

This brings us to a second class of remedies for poverty. For the aged poor some scheme of pension is now in very general favour. Of all old people in the country over sixty-five years of age, one person in five is already in receipt of relief; and it is easy to imagine the gloom that settles down on an old age that has no prospects, after a life of unrequited toil, save the animal-like comfort of the workhouse. Two schemes before Parliament in 1905 are roughly agreed on the provision of about five shillings a week to the 'aged and deserving' poor over sixty-five. Mr. Charles Booth points out the difficulties involved in discriminating between the deserving and the undeserving, and boldly suggests that a larger sum, seven shillings weekly, should be provided for all persons over seventy, arguing that what is open to all can lead neither to deception nor pauperism, and pointing out that arrangements can easily be made to prevent applications from old people who are not actually in need; in New Zealand only about one-third of the persons qualified for pensions have applied for them. Out-door relief for the aged would thus be abolished at a stroke; and for those who preferred the workhouse the Guardians would draw the pensions. The present Government finds the only obstacle in the necessary expense, though there can be no doubt that if the scheme succeeded the ultimate saving to the country would be very large.

A second class of objection, however, must not be too lightly brushed aside. Unless the pension is offered to all, a direct inducement will be given to those who can

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

save either to spend all they have 'as they go along,' or to get rid of their savings before they reach the required age. It has yet to be shown that, with ordinary care, any—except those in primary and secondary poverty, about thirty per cent. of the population—are unable to make provision for old age themselves; and to remove any argument for industry and self-control, or for the natural care of parents by their children, is both a crime and a blunder. No pension scheme can hope to be really satisfactory which does not combine public resources with private sympathy and personal knowledge and care.¹

The question of the child and of the tramp calls as loudly for individual study and experience. This, however, is considered elsewhere.

A third class of remedy is that connected with what is known as the Elberfeld Scheme. It rests on that combination of public funds and private admin-
istration to which we have referred already.

The Elberfeld Scheme.

The whole town or city is divided into a given number of wards, and over each ward is placed a captain, with a committee of helpers under him. To the care and oversight of each helper are entrusted a certain number of families—not more than four or five—with whom he must make himself as intimately acquainted as possible, and whose trust he must win. When he finds them in want, he is allowed to give them no money himself, but he must bring their case before the ward committee, who will then decide on the best means of assistance. Every citizen is expected to serve, and the funds are raised by the town. The helper's best work, however, will generally be done before the actual pinch of want is felt; advice, when

¹ Cf. Mrs. Bosanquet, *The Strength of the People*, ch. viii. p. 229; Booth's *Old Age Pensions*, pp. 33 ff.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

trouble is looming in the distance, ought to be worth twice as much as help given when the storm has actually burst.

In its entirety, the scheme has not been applied outside Germany; but with the substitution of 'funds, where necessary, raised by public subscription' for 'public moneys,' it is now being tried in several English towns, notably in Bradford, and also at Eccles, Swinton, and Halifax. There is no reason why such a Guild of Help should not be attempted in every town and village, where the more fortunate classes are not content to leave the duties of caring for the poor, the widow and the fatherless, to merely official supervision. The cure for poverty will be found, if it is found at all, when the strong arm and long purse of the community are guided by the economic justice, patient tact, and resolute unselfishness of individuals. Experience is, of course, essential, but only an experience that every one can gain. If poverty is fed by want of character, character is preserved and restored by helpfulness and friendship. The great need of the poor is friends. Large and comprehensive operations will have to be undertaken for the relief of poverty, such as the emigration of the young, which Professor Thorold Rogers believes to be the best remedy for hereditary pauperism, the regulation of Home Industries, and the provision of Wages Boards; statesmanlike attempts will have to be made to lessen the immense and costly weight of destitution, and to organize charity, whether on a small or a comprehensive scale; but they will succeed just in so far as the community has at its disposal a trained body of unofficial 'brothers and sisters of the poor,' and an organized mass of sound convictions on the true sources of the strength of the people. It is the combination of study, character, and friendship that will solve the problem.

POVERTY: ITS FACTS AND PROBLEMS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Booth's *Life and Labour of the People* (Macmillan, 17 vols., 5s. each) is a standard book, of which the most useful volumes are the first and the last; in the last is a summary of the whole work.

Rowntree's *Poverty* (Macmillan, 1s.) deals with York, but is very useful for the study of poverty in general.

Hobson's *Problems of Poverty* (Methuen, 2s. 6d., 1891) is not yet out of date, and would make the best introduction to the study.

L. G. Chiozza Money's *Riches and Poverty* (Methuen, 5s. net) is a store-house of facts and figures; his conclusions are suggestive and daring.

Mrs. Bosanquet's *Rich and Poor* (Macmillan, 3s. 6d. net) and *The Strength of the People* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.) lays stress on the cultivation of personal independence as an indispensable element in the solution of the problem.

On the Relief of Poverty the following should be consulted:—

Fowle's *English Poor Law* (Macmillan, 2s. 6d.).

Reprint of the Report of the Poor Law Commission of 1834 (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1s. 8d.)

Rogers's *Charitable Relief* (Longmans, 2s. 6d.).

References to Old Age Pensions will be found in Money's and Mrs. Bosanquet's books, and also in Booth's *Old Age Pensions* (Macmillan, 6d.).

The poverty that results from grossly underpaid labour will be found well described in the *Handbook to the 'Daily News' Sweated Industries Exhibition*, obtainable from the Anti-Sweating League, *Daily News* Office, Bouverie Street, E.C. (6d.); and general descriptions of poverty in Booth's *Pauperism* (Macmillan, 6d.) and books like Masterman's *From the Abyss* (Brimley Johnson, 1s.) and Free's *Seven Years' Hard* (Heinemann, 6s.). Quiet personal investigation and conversation, however, will give much which can never be gained from books.

CHAPTER VIII
THE CITIZEN AND
UNEMPLOYMENT

GEORGE W. McARTHUR

LONDON

The Conference, recognizing the great evils, both spiritual and moral, arising from the social condition of the masses in many of our large cities, and from the periodic lack of employment, and believing these conditions to be a hindrance to the progress of Christ's work in these quarters, hails with satisfaction the attempt now being made to deal with the question of unemployment by the present Government, and extends its sympathy to all legislative effort, by whatever party, which has for its object the amelioration of these conditions and the upraising of the people.

WESLEYAN METHODIST CONFERENCE, 1905.

The Council submits that no solution, in the case of the honest unemployed, is either sound, permanent, or Christian, which involves any weakening of self-respect or independence, by placing a semi-pauper badge upon them and by making family life permanently impossible to them. It holds that inasmuch as work is a social and moral obligation upon every citizen, any schemes of provision of work by society for the genuinely unemployed on just conditions are worthy of the closest and most sympathetic consideration.

COUNCIL OF UNION FOR
SOCIAL SERVICE, 1906.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployed question is a sphinx which will devour us if we cannot answer her riddle.

SIDNEY WEBB, M.A.

It is cause for thankfulness that we have at last reached the stage where the question of unemployment is coming to be recognized as a national question, and as a problem demanding the attention and assistance of the State. For too long it has been treated as one concerning the individual only; but, under our highly organized system of industrial life and of social order, what affects the individual reacts upon the community at large. For many years poverty and unemployment have been cankers eating into the heart of the Empire, threatening the developments of its higher interests. For many years Continental nations have realized the gravity of the question as it affects themselves, and the economic waste resulting from the continuation of a state of affairs which imposes the maintenance of a large body of non-producing citizens upon the community. We alone, as a nation, until just lately, have not been disturbed by a state of things the long neglect of which should be considered a disgrace to our civilization. We are par-

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

ticularly glad that the churches of the land are interesting themselves in the solution of this problem.¹

Some there are who consider the question to be a purely social one, and as outside the true sphere of the churches. Those, however, who have knowledge of the evils arising from unemployment, and its effect upon the lives of the unemployed and on those dependent upon them, do not take this view. They have been impressed with the moral and spiritual evils arising from it. To the argument that 'spiritual regeneration will lead to the moral, social, economic, and intellectual improvement of the masses,' we reply that we agree, but that little progress can be made on these lines while the whole energy of the masses of the people is engaged upon the struggle for a mere existence, leaving them neither time nor inclination to learn of higher things. Clearly then, as pointed out by the Rev. A. Scott Matheson,² it is the duty of the churches to recognize this side of the question and to combine with their moral and spiritual mission a clear-sighted understanding of economic and material requirements.

Before discussing the causes and suggested remedies for unemployment, let us consider for a moment the present position. On the one hand we have a sad lack of regular employment, on the other we have 'sweating,'³ and, in many employments, cruelly long hours of labour. We have intense poverty—

¹ As regards the Wesleyan Methodist Church, sympathetic resolutions were unanimously carried at the Conference of 1905, and also the following January at the First Council Meeting of the Union for Social Service. The Free Church Federation and other religious bodies have also passed sympathetic resolutions on this subject.

² *The Church and Social Problems* (Oliphant, Anderson.)

³ See *Poverty*, by J. A. Hobson, M.A., pp. 64-132.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

some twelve millions of our people being on or below the poverty line—along with immense personal and national wealth. We have an obsolete and inefficient Poor Law, which neither helps the genuine work-seeker nor discourages the loafer, and which many consider to be costly in its administration,¹ degrading in its application, and, to the decent poor, demoralizing in its effect; while, on the other hand, we have a large number of able-bodied unemployed anxious to earn their livelihood.

The legislation of the last fifty years has been merely palliative in character, generally directed towards protecting the weak and securing better conditions for female and child-labour, all of which we rejoice in, but not touching the root

Legislation
palliative in
Character.

of the evil—the *causes* which make for unemployment. The position of low-grade labour during this period has very little if at all improved, in spite of the efforts of co-operators, trade unionists,² and a large amount of charitable and voluntary service. The great danger is of still considering this question as merely one of local interest, while it is of national importance, having grown long since beyond hope of redress from voluntary or municipal resources.

It demands the interference of the State—nothing less will suffice—and needs to be treated in statesmanlike manner on broad economic and generous lines. Until this is realized there is little hope of any real improvement being effected. In nearly every Continental country it is so recognized and treated, as a glance at the very interest-

Interference
of the State
demanded.

¹ In 1904, out of £13,000,000 expended, £5,000,000 was spent in administration and other purposes outside actual relief.

² See Hobhouse's *Labour Movement* (T. Fisher Unwin).

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

ing and instructive report contained in the Board of Trade Blue-book, 1904, on *Agencies and Methods of Dealing with the Unemployed in Certain Foreign Countries*, will show.¹

Undoubtedly a main cause, and one most difficult justly to rectify, is the unequal distribution of wealth and of the means of life, largely the outcome of monopolies in the hands of the few, and in many instances the unduly large share of profit secured by Capital, leaving an unfair proportion to Labour.²

The land question—considered in another chapter—is also a main cause. Land should be held on such a system as to force it to yield the greatest subsistence for the greatest number. All primitive communities have recognized a common right to the

¹ The impression left on reading this report is that we are far behind others in our methods of dealing with poverty, vagrancy, and the unemployed, and that our system is extravagant as compared with the far more complete and effective systems in vogue abroad, where the national importance of the subject is recognized, where State aid is wisely given, and a genuine attempt is made to grapple with it.

² See *Riches and Poverty*, by L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P., and *The Labour Movement*, by L. T. Hobhouse, M.A. The latter recommends a graduated income-tax and increased graduated death duties as possible aids towards a better distribution. He would adjust taxation so as to fall exclusively upon the *surplus of industry*, and not at all on wages in their broadest sense. President Roosevelt has stated that great wealth in few hands is not in the best interests of the State, and that it might be desirable, through legislative action, to limit the accumulations of great fortunes. Some would limit the amount which a man could lawfully inherit. Others suggest a heavy tax on large unearned incomes, especially that derived from the enormous growth in the value of town lands. A higher taxation of big monopolies is also suggested.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

soil, but with us land is a monopoly possessed by the few. It is estimated¹ that not more than one and a quarter million of persons in the United Kingdom, including those who possess only small plots, are owners of land. Forty and a half million out of seventy-seven million acres, or over half of the total area of the United Kingdom, are, or were in 1883, owned by 2,500 persons. The main question that has to be solved is, how to restore 'the land to the people and the people to the land.' Until this is solved no satisfactory solution of the unemployed problem is possible.²

By education in land tillage (which should be given in all schools), by large and compulsory powers to Town and County Councils to purchase and let land, by a development of co-operative and of national credit banks and the encouragement of Co-operation, a great deal could be accomplished. In France more than half the population are owners of land; in Denmark³ about five-sixths of the land is occupied by peasants with small holdings, while dairy-farming on co-operative lines, encouraged by Government, is pursued with almost unparalleled success.

¹ *Riches and Poverty*, p. 75.

² The Royal Commission on Agriculture reported strongly on the demand for small holdings. The Co-operative Small Holdings Association, after making careful investigation into a variety of cases all over the country, has reported 'that the system of small holdings in the districts investigated has caused an increase of population—in sharp contrast to the decrease in districts where labour is conducted on a weekly wage system. In these districts there is a complete absence of pauperism, and the young men show a willingness to stay upon the soil rather than migrate into the cities.' See also *Enquiry into the Social Condition of Village Methodists*, 1905-6 (F. H. Benson, B.A.), by East Anglian District Centre of W.M.U.S.S.

³ *The Unemployed: a National Question*, by Percy Alden, M.P

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

It is serious that the number of persons employed on the soil in the United Kingdom has decreased in fifty years from nearly two to under one million persons. We must legislate to stop this flow from the country to the town, which is the cause of so much unemployment. We must also create a system which will give access to the land to men in temporary unemployment.

Other causes we have only space briefly to mention. These are, the failure scientifically to adjust supply and demand, hence over-production and gluts; the production for profit instead of for use;¹ our neglect of secondary and technical education; the decay of the apprenticeship system, which has increased the number of inefficient workers, and is considered by many to be among the principal causes of unemployment; the revolution in the conditions of manufacture with the introduction of labour-saving machinery, which frequently tends to throw many workers out of employment at a time of life when it is difficult for them to learn new trades or to do hard manual labour.

Unemployment is also due to the rapid growth of the factory system, which for years lacked efficient control, together with the subsequent strengthening of the Factory Acts, the Employers' Liability Bills, and the Compensation Acts, pieces of legislation which we welcome, but which have led to the shortening of the industrial life of the worker; for the employer, fearing that 'hands' after middle life are more liable to accident than younger workmen, prefers the latter. To these causes of unemployment

¹ For fuller treatment of these two causes, see *Poverty*, by John A. Hobson, M.A., and *The Labour Movement*, by L. T. Hobhouse, M.A., &c.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

ment we may add dislocations and temporary depressions in trade, and a growing amount of seasonal labour;¹ also our expanding national and municipal expenditure—very largely of an unproductive character—which is considerably more per annum than it was ten years ago, and has become a burden weighing heavily on the springs of industry. We may also add increasing extravagance in the mode of living and of personal expenditure.

Indirect causes of unemployment of a different character are, our want of system in the supervision of the children of the poor, and the conditions under which they are educated and brought up, which are ^{Indirect Causes of Unemployment.} frequently such as to deny to them the chance of becoming useful citizens; our failure to solve the grave social questions of housing, sweating, and temperance, and the other social questions which also make for the future inefficiency of the citizen; our inefficient Poor Laws, our undeterrent Vagrancy Laws, and our failure in any way to deal with the immense number of unemployable which flood the labour market. The latter make it almost impossible to provide adequately for the genuine able-bodied unemployed.

Before we can deal with the genuine unemployed there must be classification distinguishing the unemployable, from whatever causes, from the ^{Need for Classification.} unemployed, whether of choice or necessity. The unemployable we may divide into three classes:

(a) Those poor who, through weakness of mind or body, are unemployable. These deserve our care and pity, and no stigma should be attached to our relief.

¹ Many of these causes are enlarged upon in *The Unemployed: a National Question*, by Percy Alden, M.P.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(*b*) Those who are criminal, of vicious nature, or defective in character.

(*c*) Those able-bodied men who, without being actually vicious, *could* work but will not unless compelled to do so.

These last two classes should be sternly dealt with, and forced either to work for their living or starve.

The unemployed we may divide into two classes :

(*d*) Unskilled labourers who, being without a trade, can only undertake untrained labourers' or casual work.

(*e*) Those who are willing and able-bodied, and who are accustomed to regular, as distinguished from casual, employment.

Each of these five classes should be separately dealt with. To do this effectively we are of opinion that *State Labour Colonies*¹ must be established.

¹ We are glad to note in the report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy, issued last March, the following recommendations :

'Habitual vagrants to be sent to certified labour colonies for detention for not less than six months or more than three years.

'Labour colonies for habitual vagrants to be certified by Secretary of State, and generally to be subject to regulations made by him.

'Councils of counties and county boroughs to have power to establish labour colonies, or to contribute to certified colonies established by other councils or by philanthropic agencies.

'Exchequer contribution to be made towards cost of maintenance of persons sent to labour colonies.

'Industrial as well as agricultural work to be carried on.

'Children of persons dealt with as habitual vagrants to be sent to industrial schools or other places of safety.

'Child vagrants to be received into the workhouse instead of casual wards.'

These recommendations, if acted upon, will be a distinct step forward.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Casual wards and workhouses as now managed should be abolished, and a number of *State Penal Colonies* established, to which those who compose classes *b* and *c* should be committed for a lengthy period. Besides being subjected to stern discipline and hard work, these men should be taught some useful trade, so that they will have the power, if reformed, of earning an honest livelihood on dismissal. It has been proved on the Continent that these colonies can, in time, be made practically self-supporting. Surely this is a less expensive and more sane way than that which we now employ for dealing with this portion of the community.

For classes *d* and *e* we would also establish colonies of a higher grade of a quite voluntary nature. In connexion with these colonies various industries should be established, and entrance to these colonies should not deprive a man of his rights of citizenship or stamp him as a pauper. The discipline should not be more than is necessary, and for class *d* suitable provision should be made for the teaching of a trade. It would be fair to insist, however, that those who wish to be taught should be compulsorily detained until their instruction is completed. It would be advisable, beyond providing board and lodging, to pay a small wage to, at any rate, married men, which wage could be paid direct to the wife towards the support of herself and family. Facilities should also be provided for periodic visits of the men to their homes. These colonies, being graded, the system should certainly allow of men passing, on good conduct, by stages from the lowest colony of class *b* to the highest grade colony, class *e*. Such encouragement to a better life is most desirable.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Casual wards and workhouses having been abolished, it would be necessary to establish separate homes or colonies for :

(f) The able-bodied aged poor of spotless character, whose children cannot adequately support them.

(g) The able-bodied aged poor who have not this character, but who are past work.

Each class should be treated according to desert.

Class *a* remains to be provided for—viz. those poor who, through weakness of mind or body, are unemploy-
able. These should be treated with kindness
Need for
Labour Homes. and consideration. A home in the country should be provided. Light labour and instruction in cottage industries, according to the condition and strength of the inmate, might be furnished. This would have the advantage not only of providing useful occupation, but would enable them also to earn a small pittance towards the cost of their living.

It has also been suggested by Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., that, to ease the over-supplied labour market, farm colonies might be established :

(1) For married and unmarried agricultural labourers, or men accustomed to work on the land, who have migrated to the town and are willing to return to the country.

(2) For town-bred men. The colony in this case should be an agricultural training-school.

The establishment of the whole of these colonies would mean an expenditure which, until the system had been more thoroughly proved in England, it might be unwise immediately to incur. The cost of maintaining these colonies, when once in full working order, should not, however, be heavy, taking into consideration

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

the saving effected in other forms of relief now given, and judging by the experience of Continental nations.¹

We have dealt thus fully with the proposal for labour colonies, because the idea to us in England is somewhat a new one, as compared with Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium, all of whom have their penal and voluntary colonies. Germany, for instance, has a system of graded colonies, over thirty in number, with nearly five hundred travellers' homes and a thousand relief stations. Attached to the homes and relief stations are labour bureaux in telephonic communication with each other, and with municipal bureaux and central institutions which act as clearing-houses, finding work annually for over 150,000 persons.² By its tickets of identification, allowing the genuine seeker after work to be easily distinguished from the loafer; by its system of free passes, enabling him to travel from place to place where work may be found for him; by its strict laws on vagrancy, with penal settlements for the loafer, the idler, and the vicious, Germany is endeavouring to get at the root of the matter, and is providing in many respects an object-lesson which we, as a nation, might well copy.

¹ *Agencies and Methods of Dealing with the Unemployed in Certain Foreign Countries.* See pp. 202-9 for account of Merxplas, the largest Belgian colony, dealing, at the time of the Commission's visit, with 5,500 men, and largely self-supporting.

² 'These clearing-houses enable every workman, even if he be living in a remote village, as soon as he falls out of work, to ascertain the situations then open for men of his trade in the whole of an extensive section of the country. These clearing-houses cover a very large district, and in some cases extend to a still wider area, not alone in the German Empire, but even beyond its confines.' (Introductory Report by Mr. D. F. Schloss, *Agencies and Methods of Dealing with the Unemployed in Certain Foreign Countries.*)

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Having weeded out the unemployable, the lazy, and the vicious, it may be well to consider the principles which should guide relief to the genuine able-bodied unemployed. We may accept those laid down by Mr. E. F. G. Hatch,¹—viz.:

‘That work undertaken shall be reproductive.

‘That the work shall be of such a character that it can be expanded or contracted without materially detracting from its commercial value.

‘That it shall be of such a nature that the labour expended upon it does not compete with established industry.

‘That there shall be no attraction in the conditions of the work to seduce a man from obtaining employment in the open market when once his labour is again in demand.’

We would add, as a further principle, that this relief must cast no stigma on the recipient, or in any way destroy his self-respect.

‘Unemployment is a national industrial disease needing a national industrial remedy.’ This might, to some extent, be secured through the establishment of a board similar to the Irish Congested Districts Board, whose power is not confined to the question of unemployment, and whose methods are very fully dealt with in Mr. Hatch’s pamphlet. Such a board, in Mr. Hatch’s opinion, should be the climax of the committees created under Mr. Long’s Act of 1905. It should, like the Irish Board, have a fund at its disposal which would enable it to deal with land development by the purchase of estates for the purposes of small holdings and allotments, the reclamation of waste land,

¹ *A Reproach to Civilization*, pp. 29-47.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

the encouragement of home industries, assisted emigration, and many other functions, in Mr. Hatch's opinion.

Other suggestions which might be made are the appointing of a special board for dealing with unemployment; the establishment of a Government Department to deal especially with the question; the appointment of a Minister of Commerce and Industry.

We would here point out that, besides classifying the workers in England, it is necessary also to classify and organize the work of the country. This is largely done in Germany through its Provincial, Municipal, and Trades Labour Bureaux working through central institutions which act as clearing-houses for labour, as already explained.¹

¹ The Prussian Government, so long ago as 1894, realized this necessity of organization, and through its Minister of Commerce circularized the Royal Presidents of Districts and Provinces concerning the *organization of the provision of employment*, stating that '*not only the State, but also the provinces, districts, and communes, in their capacity as employers, are bound to do their utmost to counteract the evil in question by paying general and methodical attention to the suitable distribution and regulation of the works to be carried out for their account,*' concluding: '*Finally, you will have the goodness to take care that you are informed, as soon as possible, of all occurrences and circumstances which afford ground for inferences as to the probable development of the labour market in your district, especially of approaching considerable diminutions and increases of industrial activity, in order that you may be able, when occasion offers, to direct the attention of the superintendents of public works and administrative undertakings, and of the existing Labour Bureaux, to the state of things, and, when necessary, to use your official influence in favour of the timely introduction of extraordinary measures.*' See *Agencies and Methods of Dealing with the Unemployed in Certain Foreign Countries*, p. 109.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

It is said that the State cannot find work for all those who genuinely desire or deserve it ; but a great deal more might be done by the State if the conscience of the people were aroused, and the demand that unemployment should be treated as a national question were more earnestly pressed.

Profitable work might be provided by the afforestation of waste land, the reclamation of foreshores, and the improvement of canals and inland waterways (which extend over 4,000 miles)—suggestions which have all been recommended by various Royal Commissions. These works are especially adaptable to providing employment of a remunerative character, while fulfilling the conditions of relief which we have laid down. State forestry is a recognized part of the machinery of the Government of India, and invariably makes a substantial contribution to the Exchequer ; it is also so considered in other of our colonies and by most Continental nations.¹

Three Ways
by which the
State might
profitably
supply Work.

Professor Schlich, probably our greatest living authority, calculates that to produce the timber we now import would involve the planting of 6,000,000 acres, that such planting, carried out in twenty years, would employ 15,000 labourers, and that the forests, once created, would give employment to 100,000 men. The Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Agriculture in 1902 reported that there was a 'splendid potential source of national wealth' in the afforestation of our waste lands, in all some 21,000,000 acres.²

¹ One quarter of the total area of Germany is under wood, employing 400,000 men and yielding a profit of £18,000,000.

² It also reported that 'no individual effort is likely to cope with such extensive afforestation, not only because British forestry as now practised is inefficient, but because of the capital required, the

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

From many and varied sources we have ample proof that afforestation, when rightly undertaken, yields excellent returns, could be a source of wealth to the nation, and should not be neglected.

The reclamation of foreshores and waste lands, it is acknowledged, could also be made a profitable commercial undertaking, as many similar undertakings have already proved elsewhere. The Reclamation of Waste Lands. Dutch Government, having reclaimed the whole of Haarlem Lake, consisting of 45,000 acres, are now engaged in pumping out the Zuyder Zee, which, it is hoped, like the former scheme, will yield considerable profit. There are many suggestions for reclaiming waste lands in the United Kingdom, such as Rennie's scheme for the Wash, the reclamation of low-lying lands near the sea-coast, and along such waterways as the Thames. Large profits also might accrue from judicious reclamation around our great ports. In Bombay the Port Trust, by such work, has built up an immensely valuable property, and many other instances could be given of successful reclamation. The protection of certain portions of our coast by the erection of sea walls might also be profitably undertaken.

The canals and waterways, which many consider should be nationalized, could, if deepened and broadened, be so improved as to be of real Improvement of Canals and Waterways. service to the commerce of this country. A Commission has lately been appointed to consider the

time during which it remains sunk before producing income, and the lack of security on private estates for continuous good management from the time that the forest is pruned until mature timber is placed upon the market.' This disposes of the argument that, if profitable, private landowners would undertake the work.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

improvement of our waterways—a matter in which we have altogether been behindhand, as compared with our Continental neighbours.¹

These three suggestions—the afforestation of waste lands, the reclamation of foreshores, and the improvement of canals and inland waterways—if acted upon, would mean the retaining of a small permanent staff of experts, but would employ an immense number of our genuine able-bodied unemployed, both skilled and unskilled labourers. The work also could easily be expanded or contracted according to the state of the labour market, and would not interfere with any industry. It can only, however, be successfully undertaken on an adequate scale with State assistance and under Government supervision.

Other suggestions are the reorganization of the Port of London on the lines of the recommendations of the Royal Commission; a shorter working day for all Government and municipal employés, which, providing there was enough skilled labour, would mean the abolition of overtime, and, in its place, the engagement of an extra staff when necessary.

As there are many causes, both direct and indirect, so many remedies, direct and indirect, must be applied. It is primarily, however, to the progressive standard of comfort among the workers, causing an increasing demand for commodities, that, in

Indirect
Remedies.

¹ France, within the last thirty years, has spent immense sums on the improvement of her waterways, having voted over £36,000,000 for this purpose since 1871. Austria, Germany, and Belgium have also spent freely. (See *A Reproach to Civilization*, p. 17, by E. F. G. Hatch, M.P.) Mr. H. Gordon Thompson, in his work, *The Canal System of England*, has pointed out the 'magnificent possibilities' of our canal system if properly developed.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

the opinion of many, we must look for a guarantee of increasing employment, and to this end our effort should continually be directed.

The shifting of taxation from the necessities to the luxuries of life; more efficient education carried to a higher age, ensuring the continuance in compulsory evening classes to the age of sixteen or seventeen; grappling with the problem of physical deterioration; the better safeguarding of the life of the child by medical examination on entering school, and supervision throughout school-life; the raising of the minimum age for employment; the discouragement of the breeding of the unfit;¹ and the bringing of monopoly and the value of monopoly into the hands of the whole people—are all indirect remedies which should be mentioned.

The establishment of cottage industries must also be kept in view. These have proved successful in Russia, Germany, France, Switzerland, also Ireland Minor Industries. and elsewhere, and, although previously referred to, deserve further consideration. In the province of Moscow forty-three different categories of cottage industries flourish, the annual value to the peasants reaching no less a sum than £5,000,000. In Germany, Wurtemberg, from a purely agricultural and impoverished state has, through small industries, grown so prosperous that it has been stated there is not a pauper in the kingdom, while the wood-carving in Switzerland yields

¹ The terrible price we pay for allowing married women to work when they are not fit to do so in the weak, deformed, and undeveloped children to whom they give birth, is not sufficiently realized; also the neglect of the infant after birth by the premature return of the mother to work. See *Riches and Poverty*, pp. 157-73, on this subject, also remedies suggested. See also pp. 253 and 272.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

more than £1,000,000 a year, and the embroidery a still larger sum.

For casual labour much might be done by the extension of the system of small allotments, following on the plan of the Millwall allotments in East London and the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association in America, where the men, when not employed on their more usual occupations, are employed on small plots of land at market-gardening with considerable monetary success, and are always ready instantly to take up jobs which may be found for them. Home industries should be undertaken in the same spirit.

Nothing has been said on the question of child and women labour, although this is closely linked with the whole question of unemployment. They are treated at length in subsequent chapters. The age for child labour should be greatly raised, notwithstanding that this might seem a hardship to certain poor families. And there should be some legislative restriction of 'outwork' for women. It is said that this form of 'sweating' is more a woman's question than a man's; but it affects the men. The low wage of the woman and child forces down the man's wage. The low rates at which married women—who are partly supported by husband or children—work, lowers the wage of those who are forced to live by work done for the same rate of pay. We know there are almost insurmountable difficulties in effectually legislating unless a strong public opinion be formed, which would be the best check to the system. We have touched very lightly on emigration as a remedy for unemployment, though by assisted emigration much might be, and is being, done; the emigrants in many cases not only paying back in full the advances made them,

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

with interest, but subscribing to the funds of the emigration society or organization which has helped them.

We believe that, very largely, the best hope of the future lies in the children, almost all of whom could be trained, if proper care were bestowed, to become efficient workers and useful citizens. We do not wish in any way to decrease parental responsibility, yet neither the child nor the State should be allowed to suffer from the neglect, wrongdoing, or incompetency of the parent. In Berlin if parents through poverty, illness, or vice are not considered suitable guardians, the municipal authorities remove the child, which is kept and trained—at the parents' expense as far as possible—and converted into a serviceable citizen.

We believe the main causes of unemployment to be: the unequal distribution of wealth; the denial to the people of free access to the land; our increasing private, municipal, and national expenditure; To sum up. the neglect of technical and secondary education; the decay of the apprenticeship system; the industrial revolution caused by the ceaseless introduction of new labour-saving machinery; the specialization in trades, and the change from the cottage to the factory system of industry, with all its evils; our failure to treat unemployment as a national question, which has cost us millions of money; our lack of proper oversight in the upbringing of the children; our timidity in grappling with such great social questions as housing, sweating, and the drink traffic, all of which bear upon unemployment.

As remedies we boldly advocate, as an *essential*, State aid; the problem is too large for solution without it. Mr. O. Eltzbacher states¹ that there are, *on an average*,

¹ *The Nineteenth Century*, p. 886, December, 1905.

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

1,000,000 able-bodied genuine unemployed, who, with their families, form a population of 3,500,000, who have to be fed, clothed, and housed by the working part of the nation. He argues that the nation, besides losing some £50,000,000 per year in productive power, spends on the keep of the unemployed about £45,000,000 per annum. The loss of national productive power and the cost of keeping these unproductive citizens is a yearly drain on our resources of about £100,000,000; added to this is the moral and physical deterioration of these people, which affects the whole community. Other authorities put the number at nearly double Mr. Eltzbacher's estimate.

Many people—who have not personally had dealings with the unemployed—hold that there are very few genuine unemployed who are willing to work, in which case State aid need not be very heavy, and the *right* to work might be readily conceded. *Such is not, however, the case.* Mr. Charles Booth, who is not given to exaggeration, in his book on poverty states that, after a careful analysis of 4,000 cases of the very poor, only 18 per cent. of poverty could be traced to drink, thriftlessness, or other moral evils, 27 per cent. was due to illness, large families, or other misfortunes, and as much as 55 per cent. assigned to 'questions of employment'; again, in the class just above the *very* poor, 68 per cent. was attributed to 'questions of employment,' and only 13 per cent. traceable to drink or thriftlessness. He strengthens these figures by the remark, 'a proportion which I have no reason to think any further investigations would alter.' If we accept Mr. Booth's other figures in this great work as reliable—and they are generally so accepted—we must accept these also, especially taken in conjunction with

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

his remark above quoted. Surely if our industrial system, which has built up the enormous wealth of the nation, is responsible for the present distressing condition of labour, it is right that the State which is enriched by the system should interest itself in the solution of the problem. The genuine 'unemployed' is not to blame for being out of work; the industrial system rather is to blame, and he should command our help and sympathy. Some may say that we recommend Socialistic legislation. We reply that the tendency of all industrial legislation this last fifty years has been Socialistic.¹ The Factory and Workshops Acts, the Mining Acts, Employers' Liability Act, the many Children's Acts, are all interferences on the part of the State with the liberty of the individual. The State must legislate for the good of the greatest number.

We have endeavoured, in a short chapter, to deal with a large and very complex subject. Our aim has been briefly to set out the causes making for unemployment, the principles to guide relief, the need for State action, and the suggested remedies to be applied. Any such treatment must inevitably fail to be adequate, and we are conscious that many of the points require a fuller treatment. There is not space to discuss the objections which may be raised to some of the suggestions. We have endeavoured to make the best of the pages allotted to this subject, and to mention as many points as possible, in the hope that this brief sketch may serve our readers as a guide to further study.

Conclusion.

¹ See *Law and Public Opinion in England in the Nineteenth Century*. Dicey. (Macmillan.)

THE CITIZEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Unemployed. Percy Alden, M.P. (King, 1s. net.)

Full of practical suggestions.

Agencies and Methods of Dealing with the Unemployed in Certain Foreign Countries. (King, 1s. 9d.)

Very instructive. With introductory report by D. F. Schloss.

A Reproach to Civilization. E. F. G. Hatch.

The Problem of the Unemployed. J. A. Hobson, M.A. (Methuen, 2s. 6d.)

A judicial discussion by an advanced economist.

The Unemployed. G. Drage. (Macmillan, 3s. 6d. net.)

A useful survey by a conservative economist.

How it can be Done. Richardson. (Sonnenschein, 2s. 6d.)

A root-and-branch treatment, beginning with our educational system. Ruskinian.

Riches and Poverty. L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P. (Methuen, 5s. net.)

CHAPTER IX
THE
DRINK QUESTION

AN INTRODUCTION

T. N. KELYNACK, M.D., M.R.C.P.
LONDON

In the average man, the habitual use of alcoholic liquors in moderate, or even small quantities, is not merely unnecessary for the maintenance of bodily and mental vigour, but it is unfavourable to the permanent enjoyment of health, even though it may for a time appear to contribute to it.

THE late DR. W. B. CARPENTER.

The man who works on even a moderate amount of alcohol is not at his best. Fine work cannot be done under that condition. The use of alcohol is absolutely inconsistent with a surgeon's work, or with any work demanding quick, alert judgement.

SIR FREDERICK TREVES.

The governing virtues are incompatible with drink, drunkenness, or the disorder or incapacity that spring from them. If we are to instal a democracy in power, exalt its leaders to office, elevate a people to the judgement seat, then democracy must be sober.

RT. HON. JOHN BURNS.

CHAPTER IX

THE DRINK QUESTION

Drink has been the cause of a curse more terrible, because more continuous, than war, pestilence, and famine combined.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

THOSE wishful to serve the Commonwealth cannot fail to see that the drink question is intimately connected with most of the manifold ills which now lessen individual efficiency and limit national progress.

The alcohol problem is a peculiarly intricate one. It is many-sided, and must be viewed from different stand-points. Whilst closely related to those matters which make for man's highest interests, it touches also the temporary affairs and more trivial comforts and conveniences of daily life. Few subjects of inquiry call for so wide an outlook or demand so thorough an investigation.

To attempt its solution requires not only Christian graces and deep humanitarian sympathies, but a keen perception of the mental and moral constitution of individuals, their physical and psychological characteristics, together with accurate knowledge regarding the reaction of the individual to those multitudinous influences which are conveniently grouped under the term 'environment.'

The widespread evils resulting from intemperance have not unnaturally aroused passionate denunciation.

THE DRINK QUESTION

The degradation wrought by drink is so self-evident that in all ages and among all people intemperance has been condemned. The far-reaching, pernicious influences of alcoholism have hindered and hampered almost every form of enterprise for the elevation of the people. The deteriorating action of alcohol has made itself manifest even among the noblest and best, and thinkers and workers in the highest places in both the Church and the world are to be reckoned among its victims. It is little wonder, therefore, that man should have struggled against that which was blighting his highest hopes and rendering his noblest efforts useless. Excuses may even be made for those who, crushed by the coming of the curse on their own home and people, have denounced all those in any way connected with the introduction and perpetuation of the evil in language which, it must be admitted, has been oftentimes both unscientific and un-Christian.

It is ■ great thing to recognize a wrong, and it is much to have courage to denounce unrighteousness both of thought and life. But more is needed. The present day is characterized by a spirit of inquiry. The experimental method is being applied wherever available. System is being insisted upon in every line of research. The modern demand for organized investigation must be recognized by all would-be temperance reformers. All facts relating to alcoholism require to be collected and connoted. Causal factors, which are many and varied, call for painstaking inquiry. The manifestations of intemperance vary greatly in different individuals. Many experiments have been attempted in connexion with the prevention, arrest, and alleviation of inebriety, but results have, in only too many cases, been expressed

THE DRINK QUESTION

in a manner unlikely to afford sure lines for the application of practical effort.

The earnest student must approach this subject in the true spirit of a scientific inquirer, ready to study the matter in its relationship to other evils afflicting mankind—free from prejudice, wishful to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. And yet, withal, there must be the human sympathy of the true philanthropist and the charity of the Christian believer, who beareth, believeth, hopeth, and endureth.

The purpose of this introduction is not to give facts nor to express dogmatic opinions, neither is it to be considered an attempt to summarize our present knowledge of the question. It is rather an outline-map, indicating areas which may be prospected and districts which have been already more or less defined.

The student of the alcohol problem should do his best to obtain a general, comprehensive view of all sides of the question. He should be careful to note the numerous points at which it touches, and even overlaps, the many other pressing social questions awaiting solution. But if he would attain the greatest good, and secure the highest efficiency for service, he should specialize in one or more departments of his subject. By a carefully selected and well-defined limitation and concentration of effort, he may, by observation, inquiry, and experiment, with well-ordered deductions and something of the spirit of the seer who can project thought into the future, accomplish much. He may extend our all too-limited knowledge concerning the many factors which hinder and hamper us in our quest for rational means whereby to secure the prevention and attain the arrest of alcoholism and its attendant ills.

THE DRINK QUESTION

Alcoholism is a problem in biology. We must study it from the standpoint of the evolutionist. If we would ^{Biological} understand the proclivities of the man of ^{Considerations.} to-day, we must ascertain the practice of his early ancestors. Alcoholism is an ancient evil, and its present manifestations must be traced back to, and compared with, experiences of the past. The much-discussed and still obscure and yet vastly important subject of heredity must be seriously studied if we would gain the key to the most perplexing features of inebriety. Racial, family, and personal proclivities to alcohol vary greatly, and are doubtless dependent, at least in great measure, upon biological causes concerning which we are at present comparatively ignorant. Pre-natal influences may undoubtedly do much to determine the direction of life's activities. Alcohol is known to be an agent capable of exercising poisonous action on the various kinds of animal and vegetable protoplasm, the material basis of life. The reports of many important observations on this matter deserve careful study. The more we consider the many varied and often conflicting statements and views of would-be reformers, the clearer does it appear that we must strive to secure in the temperance world a working knowledge of the action of natural law.

To answer the question, Why does a man drink? demands an intimate knowledge of the way by which he has come. Much interesting speculation ^{The Evolution} ^{of the Alcoholic.} has been indulged in regarding the drinking habits of primitive man. It seems probable that in pre-agricultural days the manufacture of alcoholic drinks was unknown. In the slow course of human evolution a longing for something which shall increase the individual's sense of well-being and remove the perception

THE DRINK QUESTION

of the ills he is called to bear has arisen, and almost all peoples have sought out some form of intoxicating agent. Each individual, in his own evolution, tends to recapitulate the history of the race, and in the study of a single drunkard's progress the observant student can see the working out of elements which have their origin in the long-forgotten past. *Alcohol is a great devoluter.* By its action the most highly evolved member of the human race may be speedily thrown back to the level of the most degraded savage. Alcoholism must be studied in the light of the most reliable conclusions regarding the law of evolution.

In providing sound measures for the prevention of intemperance, it is very essential that we should have a physiological basis for action. There is a *The Physiology of Temperance.* something in man's constitution which calls out for stimulation. Many varieties of stimulant have been discovered and freely used by all people—some mechanical, others chemical, and many mental in nature. Recognizing this innate want, it is well that we should inquire into the physical basis of what we conveniently call 'craving.'

It is clear that mere prohibition is in itself no complete answer to this longing of the human being for something which may appear to liberate energy, increase the sense of well-being, and generally ease the stress and strain of life. We cannot attempt to estimate the directing force of the craving for alcohol unless we see the fundamental basis on which such desire is built up. Many call loudly for a safe substitute for alcohol, forgetful that the substitution of one evil for another is no real remedy. The temperance reformer must study the physiology of man if he would

THE DRINK QUESTION

secure sound lines for the teaching of hygiene and temperance.

Before we can reasonably take action in the prevention and cure of alcoholism, it is essential that we have accurate information regarding the pathology of the condition. The many and varied causes must be studied singly and in their complex associations and multiform differences of reaction with individuals. The numerous manifestations of alcoholism offer abundant material for study. Every alcoholic person offers a subject for serious individual study. It is not necessary for us to enter into the details and intricacies of a medical examination of the drunkard, but in all efforts to reform such it is essential that we recognize that we are dealing with morbid subjects—men and women diseased, and standing in need of all the restorative influences which faith and hope and modern science can afford.

Psychology is capable of rendering practical service, too, by indicating principles which may guide to rational living. The inebriate is the subject of a disordered mind, a deranged personality. Alcohol has a peculiarly selective action on the nervous system. It attacks the most essential elements in man's composition. The most highly developed and latest of human acquirements suffer first and most. By its influence the noblest and best features of the mind are dethroned. The course of mental evolution is reversed. Judgement, self-control, the power of discriminating and inhibiting, and the just exercise of high-born will are all lowered and ultimately paralysed by the narcotizing action of alcohol.

The influence of temperament in relation to intemper-

THE DRINK QUESTION

ance calls for careful inquiry. Certain mental characteristics, intellectual states, moral conditions, psychological features, exercise profound directing or determining force in predisposing to, and indeed actually exciting, the longing for alcoholic stimulation. These aspects of the subject must be clearly recognized if we are to render effectual service in the re-creation of the drunkard.

Intemperance must be investigated fully in all departments of its influence. The malevolent action of alcohol is manifest in all sections of life's activities.

The effect of this toxic agent on the *individual* must first receive attention. The chief ill is wrought because alcohol is an agent which alters the individuality of the subject. It changes the set and purpose of the *Ego*, and, throwing it out of accurate relationship with its environment, strikes at the immutable law which regulates and governs successful existence.

But alcoholism in the individual necessarily leads to *domestic* disorder and oftentimes disaster, for 'no man liveth to himself.' The far-reaching effects of an alcoholic home-influence are difficult to follow, but are of supreme and lifelong importance.

The *municipal* bearing of the drink problem in these days of democratic views is slowly becoming realized, and more and more needs to be emphasized.

Rightly viewed, the temperance question is essentially a *national* one, for it is a subject touching the moral, mental, and physical well-being of the people, and it is concerned with the very foundations on the stability of which depend our racial existence.

Thoughtful minds are recognizing that sound teaching regarding the need for temperance as a hygienic

THE DRINK QUESTION

necessity should be provided in all our public schools. The educational aspects of the temperance movement demand the most serious and sympathetic consideration of all true patriots and rational reformers.

Alcohol is an agent which, from the very nature of its action, makes for waste. It lessens the power of the individual as an efficient and enduring worker. It limits his adaptability and aptitude for co-operation with others. By its narcotizing influence the labourer is rendered less valuable as a worker. It fetters him to non-hygienic and deteriorating influences, and robs him of ambition and the incentives which make for progress. By the enormous expenditure in drink, an agent which both experience and experiment have abundantly proved is unnecessary for health and efficiency, our national resources are being squandered, and our powers for withstanding the many ills making for deterioration most effectively limited. The drink question must be studied in all its relations to labour and capital, trade and national prosperity.

From earliest days the evil of alcoholism has called for the restraining and regulating control of collective action.

The subject is one which cannot but be of political importance. It is, however, one in which party spirit should be conspicuous by its absence. The earnest student of the question must take pains to acquaint himself with all the many and varied experiments and expedients which, in this and other countries, man has tried in his perplexed endeavour to stem the tide of intemperance.

In view of urgently needed further legislative power to deal with 'the trade,' it will be well that close attention be devoted to a study of the policies of this and other

THE DRINK QUESTION

countries as to the fiscal treatment of those concerned with the production and distribution of alcoholic drinks. The liquor laws in the British Isles, our colonies, Norway, America, and other countries, may be investigated with advantage.

Practical workers should also acquaint themselves with the legislative powers under which we can now deal with the inebriate, both for his own sake and the protection of the community. An extension of the powers of the Inebriates Act is much needed.

The drink problem is not only one for the politician, the physician, the sociologist, and the philanthropist, but is a subject from which those who are concerned with man's highest dignity and noblest destiny cannot stand aloof. Alcohol, by its attack on the citadel of human power, strikes at the very centre of being. The moral evils outflowing from open alcoholism are apparent to all. There is hardly a form of moral wrong in which alcohol may not play a part—initiating, accentuating, or perpetuating. But, through prejudice, apathy, or ignorance, alcoholism, insidiously and often in secret and altogether unsuspected guise, is, even among many imbued with high ethical instincts and real religious aspirations, exercising deteriorating influence and lowering the standard of the true Christian worker—
Moral and
Religious
Considerations.
'the utmost for the highest.'

The drink problem, in all its intricate ramifications, must be subjected to thorough study in accordance with strict scientific methods, but carried on with a rigorous adherence to the fundamental principles of Christian ethics.
Aims and
Objects of Study.

Fads, fancies, and the manners and methods of the fanatic, must be laid aside. Prejudice must be given no

THE DRINK QUESTION

quarter. The open mind must make an open way for the unobstructed incoming of fresh light, new truths, each and every fact and force which may help all agencies which are making for the healing of the people.

And with all theoretical conceptions, hypothetical views, suggested panaceas, the keen and clear-visioned student will keep the eye of his soul fixed on the directing life and law of the ever-living Master, knowing that what is scientifically right cannot be ethically wrong.

THE DRINK QUESTION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

There is an immense literature relating to the manifold aspects of the drink question. It is only possible to indicate here some few works which will serve as reliable guides to those desirous of entering on a serious study of the subject. After obtaining a comprehensive view of all sides of the problem the wise student will specialize in one department, and, by scientifically directed effort, will seek to extend our all too limited knowledge concerning the many factors which hinder and hamper us in our quest for rational means whereby we may secure the prevention and attain the arrest of alcoholism and its attendant ills.

PERIODICAL

The National Temperance League's Annual. (London: Richard J. James, 3 and 4, London House Yard, Paternoster Row, E.C. Price 1s.)

An invaluable compendium of facts and figures relating to all aspects of the problem; and a useful directory to temperance organizations throughout the country.

The British Journal of Inebriety. (London: Baillière, Tindall, & Cox. Price 1s. quarterly.)

Presents the scientific aspects of the question in papers by well-known medical experts.

MEDICAL

The Alcohol Problem in its Biological Aspect, by T. N. Kelynack, M.D., M.R.C.P. 1906. (London: Richard J. James, 3 and 4, London House Yard, Paternoster Row, E.C. Price 2s.)

In this little manual I have endeavoured to indicate, in simple language, the chief features of the problem as viewed from the biological or 'medical' standpoint. It contains references to

THE DRINK QUESTION

numerous other works, and may serve as an 'introduction' for the student.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, LEGISLATIVE

The Temperance Problem and Social Reform, by Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell. Seventh edition. 1900. (New York: Truslove, Hanson & Coma.)

An invaluable presentation of the problem of temperance legislation in relation to the general social question. A statistical and comparative study which should be read by all.

Alcohol: Its Place and Power in Legislation, by Robinson Souttar, M.A., D.C.L. 1904. (London: Hodder & Stoughton.)

A reliable and interesting dissertation on methods of State control of the liquor traffic in this and other countries.

The Taxation of the Liquor Trade, by Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell. 1906. (London: Macmillan.)

Drink, Temperance, and Legislation, by Arthur Shadwell, M.A., M.D. 1902. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Price 5s. net.)

A useful retrospect and a suggestive criticism of forces for and against temperance in this land, affording much material for discussion and indicating subjects for investigation.

GENERAL

The Lees and Raper Lectures, vol. i. (London: Lees and Raper Memorial Trustees, 20, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. Price 2s. net.)

A very valuable volume for the student, containing lectures on moral, medical, and economic aspects of intemperance.

CHAPTER X
GAMBLING:
A SOCIAL CANCER

J. ASH PARSONS
LEYSIAN MISSION, LONDON

*The winner's shout, the loser's curse,
Shall go before dead England's hearse.*

WILLIAM BLAKE.

Benefit received does not imply effort put forth, and the happiness of the winner implies the misery of the loser. This kind of action is therefore essentially anti-social, sears the sympathies, cultivates a hard egoism, and so produces a general deterioration of character.

HERBERT SPENCER.

We are able to fill one of the spacious corridors in Stafford prison with young men of the clerk and accountant class, their ages varying mostly from sixteen to twenty-three, and they receiving salaries of from £40 to £70 per annum. It is betting and gambling of which they are the victims, rather than of drink and immorality, though these latter may be described as accessories both before and after the fact.

C. GOLDNEY.

Understand clearly that all racing is rotten—as everything connected with losing money must be.

RUDYARD KIPLING.

CHAPTER X

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

I believe the day is coming in the history of the English race, when it will be seen that betting involves as real a dishonour to the idea of humanity as slavery.

W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, M.A.

GAMBLING appears to be one of those inherent vices which have afflicted humanity in every age. We find references to it, in one form or another, almost from the dawn of history. The Hebrews and the Phoenicians were evidently familiar with games of chance. In ancient Greece and Rome the vice had reached such proportions that legislative action had to be taken for its suppression. Patristic literature reveals the fact that the early Church had to denounce it. It is a characteristic feature alike of such ancient civilizations as that of China and of the modern civilizations of the Western World, while the vice has been discovered, in some shape or form, among many savage peoples also.

The
History of
Gambling.

The Teutonic race appears always to have had an unenviable reputation in regard to this evil, and tradition charges the Saxon people with introducing it into ancient Britain.

In England legislation against it was first framed in the reign of Henry VII, and in the reign of Charles II

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

it had become such a scandal that even that monarch was compelled to take steps for its restriction.

Up to the middle of the last century, however, it had been mostly confined, in this country, to the leisured and the wealthy classes, and had not spread to any great extent among the masses of the people. The gravity of the present situation lies in the fact that the masses of the land to-day—men, women, and even children—are addicted to the vice.

The most popular form of gambling is, of course, that of betting on horse-racing. How widespread the evil has become is hardly recognized by the **Betting on Horse-racing.** Christian public. No one unacquainted with these matters would realize, as he walked down the main street of the small country town of Newmarket, when horses and lads were resting from the exercises of the day, that he was in the metropolis of a world that vies in extent and influence with that of the missionary societies of the Christian Churches. Yet its horses are taken by its stable-lads to the principal countries of every continent. One of the first institutions established when the British took possession of Mashonaland was a race-course, and in the recent expedition into Tibet the incident which attracted greatest interest during the stay of our troops in the sacred and mysterious city of Lhasa was the race meeting which was held, and the initiation of the Lamas into the intricacies of modern betting. There is an annual pilgrimage to Newmarket—the Mecca of gamblers. The devotees come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, to the 'Newmarket Sales.' The doings are chronicled in every land, and if one takes into account all the sporting journals, racing specials, and 'Tissues,' it is probably

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

safe to say that its affairs occupy more columns of the daily press of this country than the important affairs of our Imperial Parliament. Its representatives are to be found everywhere: in most of the streets of every city, town, and village of the land. They are to be met with in the public-house, the barber's, the tobacconist's, the newsagent's, at the street corner, or even calling from door to door. There is scarcely a considerable workshop, factory, or mill, business house, or office, that has not its agent.

The eagerness with which the 'evening' papers are bought up about 11 a.m., and the crowds that await the special editions, with 'all the winners,' reveal the hold that betting has upon every class of the community.

The postal and telegraph system of the country is employed to an enormous extent in furthering the interests of betting men. A modern telegraph office in a town where a race meeting is being held presents a remarkable spectacle. There is the crowd of special clerks—the smartest men in the service—the large number of new machines of the very latest pattern, and the tapes two or three feet deep on the floor, which tell of the tens of thousands of private wires as well as the special reports which have been dispatched to every part of the country at an almost incredible rate. The result is seen in the tape machines which are such a feature in our clubs to-day, the magical appearance of the evening papers, and—a fact which shows that rural England is almost as deeply involved in this curse as the great centres of population—the sudden demand made upon the telegraph messengers in the smaller towns and villages of the land.

Speaking at a meeting in a small country town some time ago, the present writer hazarded the opinion that

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

50 per cent. of the wires going through the local office would be concerned with betting. The minister protested against 'what every one would know to be an extravagant statement'; but the postmaster subsequently volunteered confidentially the statement that *more* than 50 per cent. of the messages received and sent were betting telegrams.

Whilst betting on horse-racing is undoubtedly the most popular form of gambling, one has to remember the many other forms of the evil that exist. **Other Forms of Gambling.** Every description of athletic sport is being prostituted to the service of this miserable vice. It is now the recognized pastime of travellers, and the gambling on our railways, and particularly on our steamships, is notorious. It has become quite a 'rage' with women, so much so that otherwise respectable residences now are little better than gaming-houses. Public attention is frequently being called to this startling development, and Dr. Watson recently uttered a very strong protest against it, denouncing the hospitality which was a mean snare by which the unwary might be fleeced, and instancing a case which had come to his knowledge of a young married woman of limited means who, having accepted such an invitation, was induced to play and lost thirty-five pounds in one evening.

The habit is also far more prevalent amongst children than is generally recognized. Sweepstakes are organized by bookmakers in our public elementary schools. Working lads and errand boys may be seen playing pitch-and-toss in the public streets; tiny lads may be watched betting with marbles, and losing a pocketful in three or four minutes; while the ice-cream shops, with their automatic and other machines, are frequently little better

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

than juvenile gaming-houses. Mr. John Hawke quotes the experience of a lady who devotes her life to the young, and lives among them in a poor part of London. She says that she has very little difficulty about drink amongst the youths, but that she hardly dare attack betting for fear of losing her protégés. She found one lad actually receiving telegrams from France during the Continental racing season.

The vice, in a word, is ubiquitous. All classes gamble, from dukes to domestic servants, and even school-girls. In every phase of life, public, commercial, industrial, recreational, family, and even religious, this evil is present. Never before has the vice been so rampant and so dangerous as it is to-day.

It is generally recognized that it is by our commerce that we maintain our supremacy among the nations of the world, and our commercial supremacy undoubtedly depends upon our national efficiency. That being so, the economic aspect of the gambling question is one of urgent importance. Gambling on the Stock Exchange results annually in the loss of millions of money and the ruin of thousands of families, and is therefore a serious drain upon the nation's financial resources and her citizen life.

**The Economic
Aspect of
Gambling.**

**Gambling in
Commercial
Life.**

But it is in her industrial life that our country is probably suffering most severely. Colonel Tannett Walker, a very large employer of labour in Leeds, said before the Royal Commission: 'The usefulness of the workman is destroyed by betting, however skilful he may be, as so much of his time and thought are taken up with it.'

Most of our readers will be familiar with the sight of

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

crowds of working men, sometimes numbering a thousand, waiting about every afternoon to learn the result of some race. Mr. Robert Knight, J.P., of Newcastle, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, said :

‘Twenty-five years ago betting was almost unknown amongst workmen in the large engineering and ship-building establishments on the Clyde, with which river I am acquainted. But now, unfortunately, the bookmakers have as many customers on that river as on any river in England. The facilities offered by the Press are mainly responsible for the large increase in the number of people who bet. *Horse-racing is no longer regarded as a sport by working men, but is used solely as a means of gambling. The perfection of sporting intelligence is the chief aim and mainstay of the existence of many of the newspapers. These papers depend on their betting patrons, and they have wrought untold evil. Betting amongst the young has become a form of insanity. They are attracted to it, and the newspapers feed the daily craving, until all their aspirations and capabilities are sacrificed on the altar of narrow and blind selfishness. The intellectual waste caused by betting is enormous. Where gambling has increased I have observed that intellectual movements have decreased. Lads of bright intellect, who might have made the world better, are drawn into the vortex of this madness, and develop low cunning instead of character. They become moral and intellectual wrecks. Their highest ambition is to be a bookmaker.*

‘I have noticed that the University Extension Movement is dead in many of the mining districts, and that secondary schools are scouted by most young men. Drink clubs have taken the place of the lecture-rooms, the bookmaker the place of the lecturer, and the sporting

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

newspaper the place of the text-book. If the betting craze goes on unchecked, the sober youths of Germany will take the reins of the commercial world.'

The efficiency of the workers depends very largely upon the comfort and happiness of their home life. The revelations made before the Royal Commission as to gambling amongst women were Gambling in Domestic Life. simply appalling. The evidence leaves no doubt, not only that the working men gamble, but also that their wives at home, to a serious and ever-increasing extent, are passing under the influence of this curse. In many districts bookmakers and their agents go from door to door tempting women to bet. Money given by the husband for food and rent is put on horses, and, when it is lost, as it usually is, new furniture and clothes are purchased on the credit system, and pledged to make good the losses. One working man with seven children found himself in debt to the extent of £70 in this way, and the children's beds and cupboards almost destitute of clothes.

On one occasion the present writer, reaching the house of the society steward of one of our village churches, was met with the question, 'Did you hear what had won "the Cambridgeshire" before you left town?' Being able to tell the name of the winner, he was informed by his host, who was a baker, that the winner was a local favourite; that many of his customers would have won money; and that he must therefore drive to town as quickly as possible to collect what he could before it was all spent. He returned in the evening, having been fairly successful, and described some of the incidents he had met with. He found one of his customers already helplessly drunk on her kitchen floor, with her tiny babe crying on her breast. In another home the woman,

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

madly intoxicated, was dancing wildly in the middle of the room, with the furniture scattered in all directions. The consequences of the gambling of women upon the home life of the nation is terrible to contemplate.

Another aspect of the evil which must not be overlooked is its effect on the national health. Sir Robert

Gambling and
Physical
Deterioration.

Giffen, a great statistician, has calculated, as a very conservative estimate, that over £5,000,000 annually goes into the pockets of the bookmakers. A great proportion of this comes out of the pockets of the working classes, and particularly, as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., has pointed out, from the pockets of those living on the marginal line of poverty. It is estimated that fifteen millions in England to-day live in a state of poverty, and we have to remember that it is amongst these that the largest increase in the population is to be looked for. What this vice amongst such people means will be understood by the following illustrations :

A woman—a minister's daughter—came and pleaded to be allowed to do heavy scrubbing within a fortnight of her confinement, in order that she might be able to get bread for her children. Her husband was a sober man, and could earn his five pounds a week ; but every penny was spent in gambling, and the wife and children were literally left to starve.

Another woman—a member of our Church—whose husband's wages were from four to five pounds weekly, and were spent in gambling and drink, had to earn at the wash-tub the money to feed and clothe her seven children.

Similar instances could be multiplied by tens of thousands. Much of the physical deterioration which

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

we deplore is undoubtedly the direct result of the slow starvation of the children, which affects the whole of their after-life, and much of this can be traced to the gambling propensities of their parents.

'The gambling habit seems to exercise some weakening and degenerating influence of its own upon the muscle of character.' So writes an able contributor to *The Spectator*. No one with any powers of observation can deny that such is the case. The popular view widely held, even among Christian people, and for which influential authority can be quoted, is that there is no harm in gambling *per se*; it is only excessive gambling that is wrong.

The Moral
Aspect of
Gambling.

Yet experience abundantly proves that the habit, even in a small way, is distinctly demoralizing. Gambling has been defined by Mr. Herbert Spencer as 'an action by which pleasure is obtained at the cost of pain to another,' but there are deeper moral issues involved even than that. It has been described as 'the determination of the ownership of property by appeal to chance—*i.e.* the play of natural forces that cannot be controlled or calculated by those who appeal to it.'¹ What this involves has been very clearly put by the Rev. W. D. Mackenzie, in his book *The Ethics of Gambling*, as 'the repression of the reason, the will, the conscience, the affections, only one part of nature being allowed free play, and that the emotions.' The pleasure of betting lies in the intensity of the emotions aroused. As Mr. Mackenzie has pointed out, this is an abdication of one's manhood, and is precisely what a man does who decides to get drunk for the sake of the pleasurable emotions temporarily excited.

¹ *Betting and Gambling*, p. 1.

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

Surely it must be evident that to treat property, either one's own or that of another, in this way, is wrong, and that voluntarily to renounce one's God-given powers is immoral and degrading.

A lie is admittedly immoral, even when it is half a truth. Stealing is immoral, even if it be only the theft of a half-penny. Intoxication is wrong, even if only one glass be responsible for it. And gambling is wrong, even if it deal only with pence.

If, then, it be admitted that gambling is essentially immoral, the consequences are at once explicable. One of the first fruits is sharpness—*i.e.* low cunning, the desire to take advantage of another. Hence the seeking of knowledge to obtain gain at the expense of another's ignorance. This is what really lies behind the business of the tipster. Men and women are prepared to pay for information which will eliminate, as far as possible, the element of chance on their side, and enable them to win the money of their fellows. A friend of the writer, living in Newmarket, once met a lady and gentleman at a holiday resort. Shortly after his return he received a letter from the lady, referring to the pleasant time they had had together, and then came the following: 'PS.—I very much want a new piano, and my husband cannot afford to buy me one. Can you give me a really safe tip for the Cesarewitch?' This lady really wanted some one else's money. 'Cracking cribs' was not in her line. Forgery was too risky. So she wished to obtain special information by means of which she could possess herself of another's property, and thus get her piano. The line between gambling and fraud is a very thin one, and is quickly crossed.

It is therefore to be expected that we should read of

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

a whole wing in one of our prisons being set apart for those convicted as a result of gambling, and that we should learn from a London magistrate that 'nearly every case of embezzlement I try has resulted from gambling,' and from another that 'betting is generally the cause of the downfall of clerks and servants.' Lord Charles Beresford writes: 'Gambling is the worst of all vices. On board ship it is particularly pestilential. Its practice has destroyed many fine characters.' Sir George White testifies: 'I know the evil effects of gambling. Society in which gambling is permitted fails in all the higher aims.'

And it is natural and inevitable that the race-course should represent, as it does to-day, all the worst features of our national life. A bookmaker writes: 'Betting and the race-meetings collect together huge assemblies of the lowest and vilest scoundrels on earth—thieves, cheats, ruffians, highwaymen, vagabonds, returned convicts, castaways, ne'er-do-wells, welshers, card-sharpers, tricksters, foul-mouthed quadrupeds, villains, and the worst forms of humanity that it is possible to get together—many of them superbly clothed and well dressed—all, all, in some way or other, preying upon the thousands upon thousands of the fools of backers in one way or another. This is truth; deny it who can! Can any one name an attraction that draws together one-tenth of this scum of the earth? No; we all know it.'¹ This is truth in bookmaker's English.

Gambling is the handmaid of every other vice. Its suppression of the will, the reason, and the conscience, and its unhealthy and unregulated appeal to the emotions, connects it closely with drunkenness and immorality.

¹ *Betting and Gambling*, p. 109.

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

The winner drinks to celebrate his luck, and the loser to find consolation; while the darkest immoralities are practically ever present where gambling is rife. The moral condition of the centres of horse-racing, for instance, is deplorable.

In the opinion of the present writer, no other vice can so swiftly and so completely demoralize its victim as gambling; and the reflection that the evil thing is touching men in every walk of life, is corrupting our public services, is blighting the wives and mothers in our homes, and taking the bloom from the souls of our children, making them covetous, cunning, and dishonest, must surely lead every earnest-minded man and woman to echo the cry of the Bishop of Liverpool, when he appeals, in the name of Christ, to all His servants, 'to rise up and fight this awful foe—gambling and betting, lest it eat the heart out of the Church and nation, and a just God punish us with a righteous retribution.'

The cause of gambling is to be found primarily in the weak moral character of the people who yield to its fascination, and their consequent failure to recognize the immorality of the act itself. There has, further, been the absence of any safeguard in the shape of strong public, or even Christian, opinion against gambling, 'where it can be afforded.'

But a further cause is undoubtedly to be found in the conditions of modern life. There is not one of us who does not at times realize the need of relaxation and of excitement that can 'take us out of ourselves.' There are many who have the opportunity of finding this in a healthy and natural manner. But for millions in England to-day there is little or no opportunity of getting such relief. Life

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

has become unbearably monotonous. There was a time when the working man was practically an artist; now he is generally little more than an automaton, and spends long hours in tedious and uninteresting work. His wife used to live in her own little house, usually not far from the fields; now she lives in one or two rooms in narrow, ugly city streets—sometimes rooms into which sunshine never penetrates.

It is significant that it is amongst the poorest that this vice has spread most rapidly. The relief and excitement which must be obtained, and which others find in natural and healthy pastimes, is found by these, amongst other means, by putting the sorely needed shilling on a horse, and in awaiting, with intense excitement, the result, which will mean either further privation or sudden wealth with its chance of the mad joys of the bout and the 'spree.'

One has only to live among these people, and attempt by imagination and sympathy to enter into their life, to understand the hungering there is for such opportunities of escaping from the soul-destroying monotony of their existence, if only for a few hours, in the mad delirium of a wild carouse.

It is this hungering of starved souls that gives the bookmaker his chance, and renders so dangerous the facilities that are now placed at his disposal. Ever-present Temptations. The postal and telegraph service, together with the public press, are, as we have said, his servants. His representative is waiting outside or inside his shop, or is calling on the woman in her home. There is, further, the pressure of a public opinion that he has undoubtedly succeeded in creating. Any one who knows the working man to-day knows his almost

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

morbid dread of being singular. The man who does not bet is a marked man in many shops, while the lad going out to work finds that almost his first duty is to carry the slips for his work-mates to the 'bookie,' and no stone is left unturned to induce him to put his 'bit' on too. In many shops it is almost an impossibility not, at least, to join in the 'sweepstake.'

Another very fruitful cause of betting is misfortune. The man or woman whose scant weekly wage cannot be made to stretch to the need of some adversity, will bet in the hope of being successful, and so tiding over the season of trouble. Some of the very saddest cases of ruin by gambling are amongst this class, and they are far more numerous than those who have no intimate knowledge of the people would have any idea of.

The cure for gambling lies, first, in the creation of a healthy public opinion. Until this is secured, nothing can be hoped for. The Church must have a conscience in the matter. She must recognize the immorality of the act of gambling. Her own hands must be clean. Church raffles must go. Her members must be warned against 'innocent sweeps' at the Boat-race, and playing cards for small stakes. The evil of gambling, whether in stocks and shares or on horses, must be clearly defined, and the race-meeting, even though under royal patronage, must be denounced so long as it continues its present associations.

It is very generally recognized that there must, in the second place, be further repressive legislation. The recommendations of the Royal Commission in favour of the imprisonment of bookmakers who make bets with children, and the power to imprison

Misfortune.

The Cure for
this Evil—
Healthy Public
Opinion.

Repressive
Legislation.

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

also for obstruction—i.e. street betting—after repeated fines, should be urged upon the Government.

But further action will have to be taken. It should be made illegal to publish betting odds in the daily press, and to insert the advertisements of foreign betting-houses and home tipsters. There can be little doubt that this would practically destroy the professional gambler, and remove an unfair and terrible temptation from the masses of the people. Further, the Government Telegraph Department should not be permitted to take pains to provide the facilities it offers at the present time to professional betting men.

It must, however, be borne in mind that efforts at repression can never of themselves secure complete and final success. The fatal mistake that the Church has so frequently made has been in Social Reform. spending money and energy in denouncing evils rather than in providing counter-attractions and encouraging to some better way. If this terrible evil is to be checked, there must be healthier and more natural conditions of life and labour for the people. For gambling is bound up with such problems as those of Poverty, Sweating, Unemployment, Housing, and 'the Land.'

The writer well remembers his first visit to Bournville, and the impression made on him by the clean, commodious houses standing in their own gardens, the cricket-fields, football-grounds, and tennis-courts, the well-stocked river for angling, and the baths, library, and institute. In an interesting chat which he had with Mr. George Cadbury, he was told of men addicted to drink and gambling in the slums of Birmingham who were now happy and contented, having found new and nobler attractions in the gardens and grounds, and the pure air

GAMBLING: A SOCIAL CANCER

and the sunshine. In three brief hours he was back in St. Luke's and Hoxton, and felt, as never before, the horror and the iniquity of condemning men and women, and particularly children, to live in such surroundings. Any attempt to find a solution to the gambling craze is bound to take into account the social environment.

But finally, one knows by sad experience that even absence of temptation and advantages of environment are, after all, insufficient; one has had the joy of seeing in a thousand lives that The Transforming Power of the Living Christ. there is a power that can transform and a grace that can suffice amidst fiercest temptations and saddest surroundings. The primary cause of gambling, we repeat, is weakness of character, and for that there is but one sovereign remedy. In the complex matter of the cure we are convinced that the Church of Christ has a clear duty, from which she must not shrink, and in which she is a fellow worker with God. At the same time the one power which alone can redeem the victim of this deadly vice, and transfigure the cunning and selfish gambler, is the real presence of the ever-living and glorified Christ.

'SEE AND SERVE'

PART III CITIZENSHIP AND SERVICE

*Pray for the peace of Jerusalem :
they shall prosper that love thee.
Peace be within thy walls, and
prosperity within thy palaces.*

Ps. cxxii. 6, 7

CHAPTER XI
THE LAND AND THE
CITIZEN

PERCY W. BUNTING, M.A.
LONDON

Against such a distribution of the national domain as that which now exists in England Christian morality protests; the monopoly of land which it has permitted is unjust and oppressive; it cannot rightfully suffer hundreds of thousands of acres to be shut up in parks and pleasure-grounds and game-preserves, while millions of its poor are hungry and homeless.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

To sell the freehold of such grounds as the bounds of the City of London encompass is to part with riches beyond all present valuation. We are in sight of an accumulation of wealth and power in a few hands, and concentrated on vital parts of the commonwealth, such as is without example in history, and might conceivably be a danger to the State.

SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK.

Soon the communal lands began to be enclosed by the aristocracy, and an evidence of their enormous areas may be gathered from the fact that, under Acts passed between 1710 and 1843, no fewer than 7½ millions of acres of these lands have been appropriated by private ownership.

A. SCOTT MATHESON.

CHAPTER XI

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

In more than half the parishes of England the soil was, in 1760, farmed in common by village communities.—R. E. PROTHERO, M.A.

THE surface of this earth is a limited quantity. But the population of the earth has no apparent limit. Yet the use of some quantity of land is essential to every human life. Taking the whole world over, there is plenty of unoccupied land; but for the purpose of human occupation it might as well not be there. It takes an immense amount of toil, time, and money, to render it fit. Mankind also live in communities—in nations, large and small; and, as each nation has its own territory, only to be enlarged by war or by toilsome and expensive colonization, the growth of the population of each nation tends to make more and more cramping the limits of its land supply.

This fact is not to be regretted. It is not only the number but the quality of a people which is to be considered. And the history of civilization shows that it progresses mainly by bringing men into close juxtaposition with each other, and driving them, for co-operation, into villages, towns, and cities. Great Britain, to-day, contains between thirty and forty millions of people, who

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

could not find food on the land of the island—at least by ordinary methods of cultivation—and are driven to obtain their most elementary means of subsistence by trade with other communities which possess more land. Better and more scientific agriculture will, no doubt, supply increasing quantities of food and other products ; and there are able men who maintain that, by vastly improved methods, an enormous supply could be grown on a very moderate area ; but, meanwhile, the supply is limited, and the population lives in towns, and lives by commerce. There is no natural reason why this should not be the final tendency of civilized mankind, as it certainly is the tendency to-day in all civilized countries—only the town must not be an overcrowded and stunted mass of squalid dwellings.

The ideal home of man, as depicted in the Revelation of St. John, is not a sweet rural country, but a large and splendid city—a garden-city, spacious, and full of pleasure-grounds and trees, with a clear, broad river. Theoretically, the most fertile land on the globe might be tilled by machinery, under the guidance of a few highly skilled residents, while the mass of the people lived at a great distance and occupied themselves in producing articles which require little space or area for their manufacture ; or even, when every one grows richer, in objects of art and the cultivation of knowledge. But these are ideas of speculation, or, at the most, of prophecy. Even if it were desirable, they could not be realized without an immense increase of wealth, intelligence, and good-will. The facts for us to-day are that, in this country of England, the seat of immense manufactures and immense cities, these cities are so overcrowded as to condemn multitudes of their inhabitants to unhealthy

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

and degrading conditions of life, while our rural districts are gradually losing their population and going to waste. And *our* land question is how these evils are to be checked. To this the minds and the efforts of Christian people ought to be directed with all possible intensity.

One of the most fertile thoughts of our day is that the congestion into large cities may be checked by deliberate voluntary effort; that the manufactures which crowd and taint the overgrown cities might be removed to more open and healthier spots, together with the workers and the traders who supply them. The garden-cities are trying an experiment of this kind, and all good people wish them God-speed. They can do a good deal, and if the progress of electric invention should cheapen the distribution of power, their work would be much facilitated. But we must not rely on this movement going on fast enough to dispense with the immediate reform of our cities as they stand.

Let us consider, then, our towns and cities. Town life might be, even for the great mass of the inhabitants, both healthy and moralizing. But our towns have grown too rapidly, and without sufficient preparation or organized plan. In the first instance, indeed, a new suburb is often enough planned by the landowner, who lays out the lines of streets, allots house-sites with gardens, and even builds a church—certainly sells a corner plot for a public-house. But his motive is not civilization, but only personal profit. Accordingly, taking stock of the probable wealth of the persons likely to come and live there, he caters for the well-to-do; takes care, indeed, that no houses below a certain style shall be built; and so arranges the amount of bricks and mortar as to make the largest amount of ground rent that can be exacted. The richest

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

quarter will generally produce the highest rent ; exclusiveness is the characteristic ; and the poorer people are left to take their chance. By and by the poorer people, whose service is wanted by the rich, have to be squeezed in ; cottages are sparingly built, trade follows, and the population grows. Then the rich fly, and a new exclusive and stylish suburb is built. Meanwhile, the gardens of the first suburb are built over, new streets of small houses spring up, and as time goes on and the crowding is closer, the old buildings, and even the newer small houses, are inhabited by many families each, without any pretence of adaptation to this new use, let in separate floors, and then in single rooms—and you have the slum, as we know it to-day. This is the result of what we call landlordism. The owner of the soil is left to do almost what he likes ; he takes short views and works for profit alone, and the result is a dismal mass of disorderly life, huddled together under impossible conditions.

Long ago it was recognized that the multitude of people in a town, or even in a village, required organized government, and municipalities were created and have grown up, having increasing but always insufficient powers to enforce certain building conditions. The town problem is, how to increase such powers by rapid steps, and to govern the town in the interest of the great mass of the inhabitants. To arrive at these desirable results the first thing needed is to spread out the city by bringing within the building area new, large, and more distant suburbs. This can be done by the municipalities themselves creating and building suburbs so as quickly to relieve the overcrowded districts. Powers, in some directions ample enough, are already in existence ; but they should be more extensively

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

employed. Mrs. Barnett's proposed garden suburb at Hampstead, if, as seems almost certain now, it comes into being, will show the way. Then, in order to make these suburbs useful and practicable, the means of locomotion must be largely increased; trams, railways, and motors being established to bring the people to and from their work. Private owners also should be induced to build for the same purpose; and, in order to induce them, the land should be rated whether it is built over or not, so that it shall not be held unused by the owner in hope of selling at a better price, but be brought as early as possible into the building market. Other measures are also needed to prevent houses in a city from falling into decay. The great need is that the central controlling authority—the City Council—should so deal with all these matters as to make them work in with one another, so as to forecast the requirements of the growing districts, and to provide or insist on a sufficient and early supply of habitations, open spaces, locomotion, and all else that promotes and profits a large and healthy population. These questions, however, are dealt with in the chapter on the 'Housing Question.' We only remark, in passing, that the expense of providing these necessities of city life may fairly be thrown, by some method of municipal purchase or taxation, upon that increment of the value of urban land which results from its being occupied by a large community. The town should thus pay for itself. In this chapter we must devote our space rather to a consideration of the use of the land of the country—the vast rural areas.

The soil of this country is distributed, for the most part, on the aristocratic system. The old feudal laws, under which the large landlord, the nobleman, had the

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

control of the local government, was master of the land, and was entrusted with the defence of the kingdom, have long since disappeared ; but their spirit still survives in most parts of the country, where the great estate carries with it an amount of moral and political influence which is practically feudal. Indeed, the modern system is more

Land in Rural Districts. favourable to the great proprietor than was the feudal system ; for, while he retains the

whole of and more than his former power over the land, he has succeeded in throwing on to the citizens generally the burden of military defence ; and, whereas he formerly was subject to a heavy land-tax, he has been able, by legally fixing the valuation of his land at a given sum, while the rents he receives have enormously grown, to reduce the tax to a trifling amount. The question of the just taxation of land as a whole, is, however, not here entered upon.

One consequence of the special position of the rural landowner is that land is held and is largely bought up in this country by persons who hold it, not for the purpose of making the most of it as a place for the mass of the people to live in and enjoy life and find sustenance, but for the purpose of obtaining social prestige and domination. The old laws which made it difficult for the landowner to sell his land have now been swept away ; but it is still an object of the most sedulous care on the part of a ruling family to maintain possession from one generation to another, and so to keep down any really democratic government of rural districts. But the true interest of the country is that holdings should be comparatively small, and in the hands of a large number of independent farmers, who cultivate the land themselves, and even work it by spade labour, and

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

not in the hands of mere rent-payers, so large and fairly equal societies of free men are brought into being. It is therefore of the greatest political and social importance to break up the large estates.

But this is also of importance because the use of the land under our present system is negligent and wasteful. This is at once apparent if we compare Great Britain with some other countries. In France, although comparatively large estates do exist, the land is divided far more than it is here into comparatively small holdings. The result is that every inch of the soil is cultivated and made to bear its crop. Whereas in the United Kingdom, out of a population of over 40,000,000, only 300,000 people possess more than one acre of land, in France, with nearly the same population, there are 5,000,000 of proprietors with an average of seven and a half acres each, and this although the soil of France is only about half as large again as that of the United Kingdom. Now, wherever the land is in small holdings, there agriculture flourishes and the country is prosperous. A striking instance of this is seen in Germany, where there are 5,500,000 proprietors, with an average of about fifteen acres each. The eastern part of the country is occupied chiefly by large estates; the centre and west are chiefly held by small farmers and peasants, mainly freeholders. Not only in the size of the harvests, but in the quantity of live stock, is the cultivation of the smaller holdings far more productive than that of the large properties, though it is true that, when the farms are excessively small, the owners are not able to make the most of them.

France, too, is an exceedingly rich agricultural country, so rich that when, after the great war, she had to pay

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

£200,000,000 sterling as an indemnity to Germany, it took only two years of sunshine and very good harvests to make up the money.

The great object of land reformers in Great Britain, therefore, should be to break up the vast estates which cover so much of the country. There is a single owner in Scotland who possesses 1,300,000 acres of land—no doubt mainly mountain and heath land. Already the process of sub-division is being applied in Ireland under the new Land Acts. But the power of the great landlords in England, through their local influence and the House of Lords, is so great that it will take some time to bring the principles of the Irish Acts to bear on the English counties.

Meanwhile, we must notice some reforms capable of immediate application, which are occupying the energies of our chief reformers. The first is the improvement of the Acts to facilitate small holdings. The rural district councils should be empowered to buy land—if necessary, compulsorily—for the purpose not only of giving small allotments for labourers to work as garden ground, but of creating farms of moderate size. In most parts a young labourer accustomed to land cannot get land to work as his own, and there is no career before him in his own village. Local powers to buy land exist already, but they are too restricted and far too costly. The French peasant spends all his savings in buying bits of land. But as a young man without much capital can rarely, by himself, make a living out of a very small farm, and, even if he be a skilful cultivator, is still subject to the chances of bad seasons, death of stock, &c., it is highly desirable that co-operative farming societies should be

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

established, which can take a large holding and divide it up, allowing the members to pay a rent which will cover, in a moderate number of years, the purchase-money and interest of their farms, and offering the opportunity of enlarging the farms from time to time. This plan is succeeding in some parts. And it can be made also the nucleus of the larger co-operation which, extensively in Ireland, and also in some parts of England, is enabling a group of farmers to use machinery in common and to buy cheaply the manures and other materials they need, and also to club their produce and sell it in bulk on advantageous terms. The effect of co-operation among small farmers in Ireland, in France, in Wurtemberg, and in Denmark, is startling.

Another great reform which is calling out to us is the improvement of the law of landlord and tenant. If a farmer does not own his farm, it is of the greatest importance both to himself and the country that he should, at least, be free to bring to bear on it all the capital and skill he can muster. But the usual form of English lease binds the tenant to cultivate in a particular traditional way, and, what is worse, there is little or no inducement to him to improve and make the best of his farm, for he runs the risk of losing the value of his improvements at the end of his lease. Recent Acts, and the local customs of most districts, alleviate, to some extent, this danger of loss ; but there is still enough risk to check severely that application of capital to land which is the life of modern agriculture. Earl Carrington, the new Minister of Agriculture, has, on his own estates, set an example of the good landlord by giving freedom, not only of religious and political opinion, but of farming, to his tenants—and with very satisfactory results. What a good and sensible

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

landlord does may well be made the legal standard of right between the owner and the tenant generally.

These reforms, stimulated by good cottage building and by education in rural matters in the country schools, may be expected, with an energetic population like ours, to work wonders in our land, as they have done wherever they have been tried. They involve a wide and generous supervision of social conditions by local authorities, and they therefore call upon the well-to-do, and especially upon the members of Christian churches in every part of the land, to take up this public work for the benefit of their neighbours. The question of prosperity is not an economic one only. No mere rigid attention to money-making will make society thrive : there must be not only partnership but good-fellowship, sacrifice for others, the cultivation and the example of high character and noble motive.

There is another system of land reform which captivates the minds of not a few. It is the nationalization of the land. It is not an idea to be dismissed as wrong or foolish in itself. Land is already taken out of the hands of private owners for important public purposes—for railways, for public buildings, &c.—the deprived owner being compensated ; and, if it would work well to place the management of all land in the hands of State or municipal officials, there would be nothing unjustifiable in doing so : indeed, one result might be to put into the public Exchequer that increment in the value of land which is due, not to improvements made in it by the holder, but to the growth of the community and of the demand for land. But most people are of opinion, judging from the experience of Government departments and from the extravagance of much city administration, that there would be little advantage

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

to the Exchequer in such a system, and that it is better to let the private man use his energies in creating value, and then to raise what is wanted for public use by taxation. And, besides, the existence of an immense army of officials, with power over the land, would give such great power to the Government and the local councils, that there might be danger to social freedom. On the whole, we must have a better and more thrifty management of affairs in what is now public work before we entrust to official hands so vast an engine of authority.

The late Mr. Henry George, again, proclaimed the view that the whole taxation of the country could be raised by taxing the land to its full annual value, and thus indirectly nationalizing it. This he called the 'Single Tax.' But if this system were so applied as to appropriate not only the mere land value, but also the value of all buildings and other improvements upon it, the check given to improvements would be disastrous, not to speak of its injustice; while, if it were confined to the mere surface value, it would not be nearly sufficient to provide for the expenses of government.

The more the subject is understood, the more clear it becomes that the reform of the laws affecting land lies at the root of almost all other large social reforms. Land is for those who can use it best, and ought to be put into their hands—not without fair compensation to those from whom it is compulsorily taken. In the early stages of civilization men roam over vast tracts of land for hunting purposes. Later comes the settler, who grazes stock on large domains. No one thinks it wrong to supplant the hunter, provided reserves—as, for instance, in Canada—are left for the displaced nomad, and his wants, as far as possible, supplied. But the squatting

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

stock-raiser, in his turn, as population grows, has to give way to the farmer—a process which is the key to the land disputes in Australia and New Zealand; and again this is recognized as right, provided a fair compensation is paid. Lastly, the large farmer himself must yield up his cherished fields to the need for homesteads, small holdings, roads and railways, and so forth—that is, for the higher and more communal uses of land, which also include parks, provision for places of religious worship and other meetings. Everywhere, both in fact and in the judgement of the human conscience, the right to the possession of land depends on its use; the owner is, in equity, only an occupier, holding until, in the public opinion, a better use can be made of it for the community.

That in this way private must far more largely give way to public requirements, is the principle of land reform for our country in our day. Our immense importation of food and other agricultural produce, a great deal of which could well be grown at home, points to the importance of the subject; and the experience of lands so near and so similar to our own as Normandy and Denmark, shows us the way to improvement. It is not easy to bring 'back to the land' people who have now left it and tasted the excitements of city life; but a system under which the young rustic can readily have, from time to time, as much land as he can manage, can obtain the use of a little capital, can find among his fellows the society and pleasure which he needs, can live a free life, and build up for himself an independent position as a farmer of his own land, such as will satisfy his just ambition,—such a system would change the face of England in two generations, if not in one, and would lay the foundations of a truly democratic and progressive State.

THE LAND AND THE CITIZEN

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- The Land Laws.* Sir F. Pollock. (Macmillan, 2s. 6d.)
From a reforming point of view, by an eminent lawyer.
- Progress and Poverty.* H. George. (Reeves, 1s.)
Proposal to remove poverty by means of the taxation of land alone.
- Land Nationalization.* A. R. Wallace. (Sonnenschein, 2s. 6d.)
Review of effects of landlordism and appeal for nationalization of land.
- The Unearned Increment.* W. H. Dawson. (Sonnenschein, 2s. 6d.)
A discussion of the rise and reaping of increased land values. Progressive and expert.
- The Land and the Labourers.* Bishop Stubbs. (Sonnenschein, 2s. 6d.)

CHAPTER XII
THE HOUSING OF
THE CITIZEN

ARTHUR PAGE GRUBB
LONDON

The housing problem, alike in town and country, is fraught with the most vital issues; ■ cheap, sanitary, spacious, stable fabric of a home, in wholesome, agreeable, and stimulating surroundings, is a prime necessary of wholesome family life. Such a home is impossible for the vast majority of the people under existing land tenure.

J. A. HOBSON, M.A.

If improvements were made on a large scale, and the people remained untouched, all would soon return to its former condition. You cannot deal with the people or their homes separately. The principle on which the whole work rests is that the inhabitants and their surroundings must be improved together. It has never yet failed to succeed. I have learned to know that people are ashamed to abuse a place they find cared for. They will add dirt to dirt till a place is pestilential, but the more they find done for it the more they will respect it, till at last order and cleanliness prevail.

MISS OCTAVIA HILL.

CHAPTER XII

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

I believe the housing question to be at bottom a religious question, and that it is necessary to face it in the light of the Christian ideal of life and character.

J. E. HAND.

THE English race is fond of claiming a copyright in the word 'home.' We proudly assert our national superiority because the English language alone possesses two distinct words for 'house' and 'home'; and our boast is not without merit. The home stands for the bed-rock on which the social system and the State are founded. Emerson, in his eloquent essay on 'Domestic Life,' emphasized this point when he wrote: 'The care which covers the seed of the tree under tough husks and stony cases, provides for the human plant the mother's breast and the father's house.' Mazzini carried the same idea a little further when he laid down the principle that 'the home is the recognized place where, between the mother's kiss and the father's caress, the child's first lesson of citizenship is learnt.' Dr. Robertson Nicoll brought out, in a striking fashion, a third aspect of the home when he paraphrased the apostolic words in a recent sermon after this fashion: 'Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though He was

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

homed, yet for our sakes He became homeless, that we through His homelessness might be homed.'

Thus, in approaching the question of the housing of the people we must bear in mind the threefold uses of the home—physical, political, and religious. In the well-ordered State the homes of the people protect and nurture the physical frame of the child as the rough husk safeguards the life of the seedling; they educate the child in those habits of mind and body which will enable him to become, on attaining manhood, a useful and law-abiding citizen; they nourish in him those spiritual instincts upon which the Churches rely for implanting the fear of God and the love of man. If, then, in examining the internal economy of a State, we find that the homes of the people are of such a character as to fulfil this threefold purpose, we may assume that the foundations of that State are firm and its future assured. If, on the contrary, we discover that, owing to many causes, such homes are outside the reach of large numbers of the people, we are driven to conclude that, however fair and pleasing the outward aspect of that State may be, its fabric is rotten and its future uncertain or even menacing. In this chapter I propose to apply the threefold test to the homes of Great Britain, to show how badly they will stand the test, and enumerate some promising remedies for solving what is admittedly the most pressing and the most complicated of all problems.

When we begin to examine the housing problem at close quarters we recognize at once that the chief

The Rural Exodus. (though not the only) factor which has made this question the nightmare of the reformer is the immigration of the country to the town which marked the nineteenth century. In 1603 the

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

population of London was 250,000; at the Restoration the Metropolis contained slightly more than 400,000 inhabitants; Bristol and Norwich had less than 30,000; and the population of no other town exceeded 10,000. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the inhabitants of London numbered only 900,000. When the census of 1901 was taken, the population of Greater London was 4,536,541, a number as great as the whole population of Australia; there were a dozen towns with more inhabitants than London had in 1660; and almost one-half of the total population of the country was huddled into seventy-six centres. This townward movement has produced the acute situation which confronts the social reformer with its appalling magnitude. India is visited from time to time by food-famines which, in spite of the exertions of the Indian Civil Service, decimate the population. But Great Britain, at the opening of the twentieth century, is afflicted with a famine of houses almost as devastating in its results to the lives and physique of the people. If every room, good or bad, large or small, in all the workmen's dwellings in the country be reckoned, the number is totally insufficient to house the working population without unhealthy overcrowding. More than that, there are people to-day in our workhouses who would come out to-morrow if they could discover shelter elsewhere. But, even at excessive rents, they are unable to find it. Mr. George Haw, a recognized authority on overcrowding in London, tells of a north-country mechanic who, not long ago, came to the gates of a South London workhouse and prayed the porter to let his wife and three children in, promising to pay for their keep. This man had secured a situation in which he

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

could earn good wages, but, after tramping the streets for miles around from ten o'clock in the morning till eight at night, he could not find house or rooms to let at any price. On inquiry, Mr. Haw found that, far from being an isolated instance, this case was by no means exceptional, and that, at the same time, the wives and children of five men had been admitted temporarily to a Walworth workhouse because they were unable to get accommodation outside for love or money. This house-famine is not confined to the innermost ring of London, but stretches out almost as widely as the area of the metropolis. A large estate-agent states that within a radius of two miles from the Elephant and Castle there is not a vacant house to be had; whilst a firm of house-agents in the New Kent Road have lists four hundred deep of people waiting for houses.

This failure of the supply to meet the demand applies to the rural districts as well as to the vast industrial centres. Indeed, by a strange irony, we find that this is one of the most potent causes of the immigration of the country-man into the town. The actual state of things in the country has been set forth by Mr. George Haw in the investigations conducted by him on behalf of *The Daily News*; and Mr. Richard Whiteing, in his admirable novel *The Yellow Van*, which is really a tract on land reform, gives a typical instance of what is happening in many a village to-day. In the Labour Commission Report it is stated that no good cottages were found vacant in Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cornwall, Oxfordshire, Berks, Gloucester, and Wales, in spite of the fact that in all these counties the population was steadily diminishing. An inquiry made by the Land Law Reform

House Scarcity
in Rural
Districts.

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

Association in 1897 into the condition of 400 villages, revealed the fact that, in over one-fourth of the number, there were not enough houses for the people.

Thus we are met on the very threshold of our inquiry with the amazing condition that, for a certain proportion of the citizens of this country, a home is an impossibility, because there are not sufficient houses. In the Judean village there was no room in the inn for the Divine Babe: modern England offers no home for some of those poor for whom He came to bring glad tidings of great joy.

The fact that there are not enough houses to go round inevitably results in the packing of several families into dwellings which are designed to accom-
modate only one or two families. Thus we ^{Overcrowding.} arrive at the second stage of our inquiry—overcrowding. Observe that the term is used advisedly. It is not *crowding*, however harmful that may be, with which we are now dealing: it is overcrowding. Crowding of urban populations in city slums is no novelty, and has existed as long as want of oversight and of good administration has permitted it. In early Stuart times, London, with a total population of 250,000, 'was surrounded by extensive slum districts outside its walls, known as "liberties," where vast multitudes, not only of respectable workmen, out of the broken population that collects round a great capital, were herded in conditions of squalor, misery, and disease that made London famous for its plagues and terrible in riot and revolution.'¹ The situation of these 'liberties' enables us to grasp some of the reasons for the magnitude of the modern evil: they were St. Giles's, Cripplegate, Whitechapel, Stepney, Westminster, and

¹ *England Under the Stuarts*, by G. M. Trevelyan.

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

Lambeth. Even the Great Fire touched only a small part of these noisome slums, and the housing and general conditions of the poor were little improved by the rebuilding operations. Subsequent neglect of the authorities, Imperial and municipal, to concern themselves with these conditions, allowed the slum areas to wax larger until, in our own day, enormous masses of vile and insanitary buildings have been left on our hands for demolition, at an immense expenditure of public money. The London County Council and the ratepayers are now paying ransom for the sins of their forefathers.

But, besides the slum areas inherited from former generations, there exists another kind of shelter for the poor and the working classes. The gradual withdrawal of the wealthy classes from the centre of London to the West End and to the suburban districts, has left whole streets, once peopled by the butterflies of fashion or substantial city merchants, to be occupied by the toilers of the city. It is behind the respectable and even im-

Tenements. posing frontages of these erstwhile mansions that overcrowding in its grimmest form often occurs ; and if we are to gain an adequate idea of the problems confronting the reformer, we must investigate the fine-looking dwellings in the broad streets and open squares of St. Pancras, Finsbury, and Islington, as well as such obvious slum areas as Somers Town, Stepney, Southwark, and Lambeth.

I have said that the present condition of the housing problem involves not only crowding, but extensive overcrowding. What is overcrowding? The official definition of the census applies the term to tenements (i.e. any building used for human habitation) containing more than two occupants per room. Accepting this definition,

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

there were 392,414 overcrowded dwellings in England and Wales in 1901, into which more than two and a half millions of people were packed. In London alone 900,000 were living in overcrowded rooms in 1891, and at least 386,000 had to eat, sleep, wash, dress, cook, and live and die in one-room dwellings. Thanks to the efforts of the London County Council and other bodies, public and private, these figures were slightly reduced in the ten years following. But at the present time there are over half a million people living in single-room tenements in England and Wales, with an average of 2.02 persons to each room. Moreover, eighteen persons out of every hundred inhabitants of our country are occupying dwellings of three or less than three rooms.

Statistics, however alarming, do not convey an actual idea of the horrors which are comprehended in the use of the word 'overcrowding.' Let us materialize these figures by investigating some cases of overcrowding. If the rooms occupied by these half-million persons were spacious, airy, and well-lighted, the indecency and discomfort consequent on a single-roomed dwelling would still make them abhorrent to the observer. But, so far from these conditions being the rule, they are the rare exception. The average size of the rooms used for living and sleeping by the overcrowded Londoners is ten feet square. The rooms are found in all parts of the building, often in the upper stories, and frequently in the basement. The life maintained by the occupants is torture. The heaviest burden falls on the women. Night and day they are condemned to soul and body-destroying drudgery in these stifling boxes. Cooking, washing, drying, nursing the sick, all the hundred and one duties which make up the household occupations of

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

a woman must be done in this cribbed and confined square of ten feet. Think what the atmosphere of such a place must be when the children come home from school and the husband returns weary from his work. Is it amazing that the husband flies to the bright gin-palace round the corner for a little comfort after his day's work, or that the children betake themselves to the streets, where at least the air is fresh and there is room to move? Late at night they return and crowd into the one bed—father, mother, sons, and daughters; while those for whom the bed is not large enough creep under it for warmth. In London there are 3,000 people living eight in a room, and over 9,000 living seven in a room. At the lowest computation, 26,000 of the occupants of single-room dwellings are living six and more in a room.

Even this is not the worst. Thousands of these single-roomed dwellings serve not only for living and sleeping, but also for workshops. Many costermongers Some Samples. store their stock in their single room at night. Others are cobblers, bird-fanciers, and small cabinet-makers, and Mr. Haw even cites cases of fish-curing. It is in such places that we may find hundreds of women who might have sat as models for Thomas Hood's awful lines :

Stitch ! stitch ! stitch !

In poverty, hunger, and dirt.

Women are turning out every day pasteboard boxes for 1s. 6d. a gross, or boot-boxes at 2s. 10d. a gross. For a penny a gross artificial flowers are manufactured, and match-boxes at 2¼d. a gross. In the midst of this turmoil of existence stalks Death, no grim figure to these overcrowded, sweated fellows of ours, but the rescuer. The

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

child falls ill and dies—and for a day or two the body lies on the bed in the daytime and is put away on the shelf with the food at night.

That the most elementary decency can be maintained in these circumstances must be a standing wonder.¹ Yet the pathetic way in which many of these poor one-room dwellers try to shield their children from demoralizing sights and sounds is a standing tribute to the goodness innate in humanity. But even when the utmost care is taken the life inevitably debases the boys and often ruins the girls. From infancy the children are inured to indecency. Womanly modesty gives way before the nightly promiscuity of the sexes. The boys become hooligans, wastrels, criminals—without the will, as they lack the stamina, for sustained toil. A large proportion of the children never reach boyhood or girlhood. They are murdered by overcrowding. In Mr. Chiozza Money's book, *Riches and Poverty*, a table is given showing the expectation of life for males in Hampstead and Southwark.² At birth the Hampstead infant has the expectation of 50·8 years of life; the Southwark infant only 36·5. During the year 1897 the number of deaths in the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, was 1,064, of which 264 Death-rates. were children under five; in the parish of St. George's-in-the-East the number of deaths was 1,259, of which 661 were children. Central London has a death-rate of 26 to 30 per thousand as compared with 13·5 in Surrey and Middlesex, while in the slum districts the rate goes up to 40 and 50 per thousand. In the chief provincial cities this state of affairs is paralleled: Glasgow with a death-rate of 21·6, Liverpool with 26·4, and Birmingham with eleven

¹ See p. 41.

² Page 195.

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

streets showing a death-rate of 33 to 42 per thousand, are instances of the widespread character of the evil.

But the overcrowding in one-, two-, and three-roomed dwellings is only one half of the evil. There is the **Overcrowded Areas.** overcrowding in area; that is to say, more people are living on each acre of land than is consistent with the public health. This evil exists in its most acute form in the industrial parts of the North and Midlands, though it is not absent from London. The metropolis, however, has this advantage: the majority of the districts inhabited by the poor were originally built upon and laid out for the use of the wealthy classes. The movement outward and westward has taken the original occupants elsewhere, and their houses have descended, one grade after another, until they are let out in one- and two-room tenements. A terrible effect of this certainly is that the sanitary arrangements and water supply originally intended for the use of a single family are totally inadequate for the requirements of a dozen. Frequently every drop of water for the whole building has to be carried from a single tap in the basement, with the natural result that little water is used, and filth and squalor reign with undisturbed sway. On the other hand, one considerable advantage is derived from this position. The main thoroughfares are broad, well-laid, and airy. The side-streets are nearly all built after modern by-laws, or brought into accordance with them. There is a free passage of air back and front, and the smoke nuisance is not strong enough to prevent the growth of vegetation.

But in the overcrowded areas of Manchester and Salford, the mining districts of Durham, and many of the chief industrial centres of Lancashire and Yorkshire,

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

square mile after square mile is crammed with two-floored cottages divided by narrow, irregular streets—stagnant channels of impure air. On all sides vast chimneys belch forth black smoke thickly laden with soot and chemical impurities, until the sky is perennially darkened, and the inhabitants dwell in a murky twilight. An unequal struggle with dirt is kept up by zealous housewives; others abandon the fight in despair. These houses are, many of them, built back to back, so that there is no passage of even the vitiated and smoke-laden air through them. As a rule, the Manchester working man and his family occupy a four-roomed dwelling, and such evils as the herding of the sexes together in one sleeping-room are rare. But the out-door environment injures the bodies and starves the souls of the inhabitants. The mean streets, the bad paving and cleansing, the smoke nuisance, the dust nuisance, the chemical nuisance, the absence of greenery and of all visible beauty—these are things as destructive of body and soul as the loss of modesty and the familiarity with repulsive sights and sounds in the overcrowded rooms of London tenements.

It must not be supposed that the great mass of the overcrowded live in one- or two-roomed dwellings from choice, because of their cheapness. As a matter of fact, these rooms are exorbitantly dear. The people go there because they must have some shelter, and there are not enough houses to go round. The fierce competition for a roof-tree enables the property-owners to levy what rents they please. In Mayfair there are single rooms, twelve feet by ten, fetching £50 a year. In Soho the very basements bring in £26 a year and the attics £21. Two-roomed tenements in a Spitalfields street are rented at £20, and

Rents.

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

the tenant must pay a deposit of £2 for the key. 'Many a six-roomed house in a Bermondsey back lane or a Bethnal Green court is fetching six shillings a room, or £93 a year, while on the heights of Highgate or in Dulwich lanes the rents and rates combined of well-built, eight-roomed villa houses fitted with baths, with gardens front and back, do not exceed £50 a year.'¹ The law of rent works itself out so that, under present conditions, as a district grows poorer, its rents rise, until the average amount paid in rent by the poor is one-third of their income.

Thus we see that the poor, the wage-earners, and their families have, first of all, not sufficient houses to home them, and are driven to herd together in a manner destructive to comfort, health, decency, and even life itself. Secondly, the houses in which they find shelter are often unsuitable, devoid of proper conveniences for cleanliness and sanitation, or so constructed as to admit an insufficient supply of light and air; and in many cases all the stimulating forces of beauty and vegetation are banished from their environment. Thirdly, the operation of fierce competition compels them to pay exorbitant prices for this bad accommodation, and takes one-third of their incomes for rent. If, then, we apply the three tests which I enumerated at the beginning of this chapter as constituting the essentials of the home, we are driven to admit that the abodes of at least two and a half millions, or more than eight out of every hundred people in England and Wales, are incompatible with the production of healthy, law-abiding, industrious, and Christian citizens.

¹ *No Room to Live*, by George Haw.

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

Having thus obtained, as I hope, a clear view of the problem with which the community is confronted in the opening years of the twentieth century, let us now examine the various methods which experience and study of the problem suggest for its solution. One method which deals with the mischief at the fountain head—the checking of the flow of population from country to town—I must content myself with naming; it is treated at length in the chapter on land reform.¹ If by any system of land partition we can put an end to the ceaseless immigration into the large towns, the problem before us is immensely simplified. Without this assistance the work of the reformer in the towns must be unavailing, for as fast as the already overcrowded are offered relief, others will arrive to take their place.

The Solutions.

Land Reform.

The first and most obvious remedy for overcrowding is to demolish the slums. Ample powers for this purpose have already been granted to the local authorities. Under the Public Health Act of 1875 the local authorities are empowered to stop overcrowding, to insist on existing dwelling-houses being made healthy, and to enforce the by-laws which secure proper construction and sanitation for new dwellings. The Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 not only gives the authorities power to purchase and demolish whole blocks of unfit dwellings in slum areas, but enables them to provide or encourage the provision of new healthy housing accommodation in the form of model lodging-houses, block dwellings, tenement houses, flats, and cottages. At first sight, then, it would appear that a simple solution of the housing and overcrowding

The Slums.

¹ See p. 207.

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

problem has been already found. The public health authorities have only to condemn the defective dwellings as unfit for habitation, the municipal authorities have only to carry out their statutory powers, demolish the slums, and rebuild upon them or erect elsewhere suitable and sanitary habitations, and the trouble is at an end.

But a little investigation into the course of events since 1890, when the Housing Act was placed on the Statute Book, quickly dissipates this roseate prospect. The plain truth is revealed that these two measures, the Housing and Public Health Acts, are, to a great extent, made null and void by the immensity of the problem. The health authorities cannot enforce their powers, because to do so would throw into the streets of our cities a vast horde of shelterless people. The supply of sanitary inspectors (in London it averages one to every fifteen thousand inhabitants) is inadequate to examine the great mass of insanitary and overcrowded dwellings. The tenants themselves dare not draw the inspector's attention to the sanitary defects. If they do, and the landlord has to make them good, the tenant knows that his fate will be immediate eviction, or else a considerable addition to his rent. Even if the work of emptying overcrowded and unfit dwellings were carried out gradually and by districts, the result would be to drive the people into other areas where the same evils would be repeated. In fact, the very nature of the situation compels the wronged man to side with his oppressor against the law and the public authority.

But, it may be objected, the Housing of the Working Classes Act permits municipalities to purchase slums compulsorily and to erect other dwellings in their place? What makes this Act unworkable? To that we must

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

reply that action has been taken by various public bodies under this Act, and that, to a very slight extent, the evil of overcrowding of rooms has been mitigated. But, in face of the overwhelming need, this action has been pitifully small. One reason for this is the ruinous cost of compulsory purchase. The fear of adding overwhelming burdens acts as a drag on even the most zealous local authorities. For example, the Metropolitan Board of Works spent one and a half million sterling on merely pulling down old houses. The London County Council spent on the Boundary Street Scheme and other plans for clearing insanitary areas, and rehousing 35,950 people, nearly the same amount, the cost amounting to the extravagant sum of £50 to £70 per head of the persons displaced. Manchester has spent £160,000 in displacing 2,600 persons; Greenock, £127,500; while the Wolverhampton Improvement Scheme added a sum of £7,000 a year to the rates. Moreover, the demolition of these slums has largely increased the value of the surrounding insanitary areas, by driving many of the displaced persons into them and sending up the rents to a still higher figure. These new slums will in turn have to be dealt with at the same ruinous expense; and a vicious industry has been developed of buying up property in slum areas in order to gain a rich profit in compensation from the pockets of the rate-payers. The fact is that legislation dealing with the demolition of slums is not nearly drastic enough. The responsibility for the condition of bad houses should fall on the owner, not on the community. When a tradesman is detected by the health officers offering tainted flesh for sale, the community is not compelled to pay him the market price of the confiscated meat; on the

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

contrary, the law severely punishes him. In the same way the possession of overcrowded and insanitary property—which is as menacing to the health of the public as tainted meat—should be regarded as a crime against the community, and, after a reasonable interval has been allowed to put the property into a habitable condition, the slum-owner, if recalcitrant, should be deprived of it without compensation.

When a slum has been condemned and the area purchased, the public authority is confronted with two alternatives—either to rehouse the displaced inhabitants on the site of the demolished slums, or to build houses for them in a less crowded part of the town. In the former case the kind of building called the ‘model,’ or ‘block dwelling,’ must be provided. This course has been followed largely in London and Manchester; the block dwelling has been in existence in Edinburgh and Glasgow on a large scale from ancient times. In some respects these dwellings are a great improvement on the slum houses. When properly built—as are those of the Peabody Trust and the London County Council—the rooms are airy, the corridors and staircases are kept clean, and the sanitary arrangements and conveniences for the supply of water are entirely satisfactory.

But there are many serious disadvantages. In the first place the block dwelling, while generally relieving the overcrowding of rooms, immensely increases the overcrowding of areas. The density of population per acre is added to in a manner dangerous to health, for we must remember that while there is almost no limit, within the laws of gravitation, to the size of the sky-scrapers we erect upon an acre of land, the amount of oxygen in

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

the atmosphere is a fixed quantity ; there is a health-giving supply only for a certain number of persons, and the indefinite multiplication of inhabitants to the acre of ground means a smaller amount of oxygen for each person than is consistent with health. Again, there are grave reasons for believing that the close proximity of scores of families is injurious to the moral character of the people.

The second alternative is the rehousing of the displaced persons at a distance. For this course there is much more to be said. It is possible to purchase a sufficient area of land in the outskirts of a city to build two-floored cottages which will approximate more nearly to the ideal of a home. This course has been adopted by the London County Council at Tooting and Norbury, by private building companies in West Ham and Willesden, and by provincial city and town councils, as in Manchester. In these new districts the tenants find purer air and greater space. But if you are to induce the displaced people to migrate from the slums to these suburban dwellings there must be suitable facilities for quick and cheap transit to the scene of their labours. This circumstance has been one of the chief hindrances in rehousing slum tenants in London ; for until the last few years private interests and Parliamentary lethargy have combined to prevent the London County Council from providing that cheap and rapid means of transit without which rehousing schemes in the suburbs are valueless. In London, moreover, the difficulty of taking the poorer classes of workers to the suburbs is enhanced by the increased price of necessities in the suburbs, as compared with the inner belt, where all are poor together and goods can be bought by the farthing's worth. It

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

should also be borne in mind that the rents of cottages in these suburbs must be low enough to allow for the cost of travelling to the scene of the occupants' labour. Unless that be done the provision of new houses in the outskirts is valueless to the people who have inhabited the demolished slum.

There are some grave objections to the present method of planting workmen's settlements in the suburbs. There is a fatal tendency to reproduce in the working-class suburbs the worst features of the city slum. Moreover, the segregation of the classes is maintained. Wealth and culture inhabit one area, labour and pinched want another.

To bring about a thorough reform of the present condition of the housing problem we must have much larger powers bestowed upon the local
Reforms, authorities; the special Acts which have been passed for London must be extended to the provinces; the whole system of local taxation must be reformed, and some method of penalizing the person who fattens on rents derived from slum property must be devised. These ends may be gained by (1) the extension of the London Health Act of 1891 and of the London Housing Acts of 1894 to the provinces. The former Act enforces periodical inspection of working-class dwellings, the abatement of nuisances, and the securing of proper sanitation, while the latter deals with the oversight of new buildings. In addition, larger powers should be conferred on the local authorities to veto all building operations in a new district, either for working-class or other residents, unless the external as well as internal arrangements come up to an approved standard of air and light space. Germany affords a

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

useful example of the beneficial results of this policy. Every traveller in that country is struck by the cleanliness, order, and beauty of the towns. These qualities do not rise spontaneously. They are the result of an elaborate system of plans to regulate the development of industrial centres, to provide broad, tree-lined streets and open spaces, and to counteract the tendency of every growing town to produce a congested centre surrounded by a ring of cheap and shabby suburbs. In many cases the municipal authorities buy up large areas of outlying land and develop it themselves, building middle-class as well as working-class dwellings.

The next practical measure is (2) to extend the period for repayment of loans made by local authorities for building purposes. The Housing Act of 1903 extended that period from sixty to eighty years; but the period must be still further enlarged if we are to obtain a sufficiency of houses at a reasonable rent. Another urgent requirement of a remedial character is (3) the adoption of stringent regulations respecting all single-family houses which are converted into tenements. Structural alterations covering the provision of an adequate supply of water and sanitary conveniences should be enforced, as well as a strict limitation of the number of persons allowed to occupy such converted dwellings. Further (4), in order that the inspection may be rendered as impartial and thorough as possible, medical officers of health and sanitary inspectors should be placed under the control of the Imperial Government. Too often fear of losing their positions because some member of the municipality or borough council which employs them may be interested, influences the action of these officials prejudicially to the public interests. Another aim of

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

the reformer must be (5) to penalize the owners of slum property who batten on the degradation and misery of the overcrowded poor. A first step in this direction would be the public registration of all owners of property, both ground-landlords and house-owners, so that the wholesome influence of public opinion might be brought to bear upon people many of whom now occupy honoured positions in society. (6) The alteration of the leasehold system and the reform of local taxation would be valuable aids in the solution of this difficult problem, while the taxation of land values—a most urgent though most complicated and difficult branch of legislation—is an absolutely essential part of every thorough scheme of reform. The pernicious land system indeed blocks the way to all progress. As King Charles's head confronted Mr. Dick in *David Copperfield*, so in every branch of social reform the inquirer is brought up short by the land question. That question and the remedies are dealt with in another chapter,¹ and I can only now point out that the right to develop garden suburbs, where rich and poor may dwell together and share the amenities of nature in common, is valueless unless the authorities are enabled to purchase land at a price proportionate to its present rating value; nor is it possible to erect suitable dwellings at a rent which will make them available to the poor unless the tax on homes is lightened by the transference of the burden of rating from the house to the land.

With all these reforms in active operation, even if coupled with a national housing loan for providing the capital for municipal erections, there would still remain a great mass of overcrowding of area if not of houses.

¹ Chap. xi.

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

so long as factories and workshops remain packed tightly in the centre of our great towns. A large movement of decentralization is required if the problem is to be successfully solved. Legislation here will be powerless, and we must rely on moral suasion, assisted by the inducements which the spread of the motor vehicle and the reform of the canal system will supply. The example of the garden-city at Letchworth should be followed in all parts of the country, and new Bournvilles and Port Sunlights be erected by public-spirited merchant princes.

In a closing paragraph, it only remains to point out that the promotion of the reforms indicated is primarily the work of the individual. The one decisive factor in solving the housing, as well as all other social problems, is the awakening of interest and the exercise of his power by each citizen. Powerful interests block the way to reform on all hands, but none is powerful enough to withstand aroused and instructed public opinion. If we are 'to build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land' it must be by each man of good-will, like Nehemiah's workers, labouring at his private task with one hand, and bearing in the other the weapon with which to beat off the constant assaults of selfish and degrading interests.

THE HOUSING OF THE CITIZEN

BIBLIOGRAPHY

No Room to Live. G. Haw. (*Daily News* Office, 6d.)

A popular description of overcrowded London and of its evils.

The Housing Handbook. W. Thompson. (Aldridge, 2s. 6d. net.)

Indispensable to students of the question.

The Housing of the Working Classes. Bowmaker. (Methuen, 2s. 6d.)

Gives clear summary of recent legislation and of the powers of ratepayers.

The Housing Conditions of Manchester and Salford. T. R. Marr. (Manchester University Press, 1s. net.)

A detailed and impressive investigation, undertaken for the Citizens' Association.

The Example of Germany. T. C. Horsfall. (Sherratt & Hughes, Manchester, 1s. net.)

An epoch-making pamphlet on municipal laying out of new building areas.

Garden Cities of To-morrow. E. Howard. (Sonnenschein, 1s. net.)

The pioneer book on the subject.

CHAPTER XIII
WOMEN AND SOCIAL
PROBLEMS

MARIE STUART
DEVONPORT

Every one must have observed the new influence which is not being asserted or sought, but is falling to the lot of women, in swaying the destinies of the world. . . . If the young generation are to be an improvement on their fathers, if sin is to have less dominion and religion more power, if vice is to be abashed and virtue to be honoured, it is to women we must look for such a generation.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL, 1858.

We have to face the facts, to recognize that women do and will ask from life more than democratic politicians or social reformers, educationalists, abstract economists, or moralists have ever offered them. Their social demands are more concrete and personal, more emotional, more ideal also. They seek more of home beauty and of social intercourse, and these selected on grounds of personal sympathy and admiration, not of doctrine or party.

PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES, 1904.

CHAPTER XIII

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Give for alms those things which are within.—LUKE xi. 41 (R.V.).

JESUS CHRIST asks from His followers a gift more costly than money. We cannot, though we fain would, pay our debt to Him and to our fellows with a cheque-book. 'Give,' He says, 'those things which are within.' Give yourself, your best self, the influence of your God-given personality—the treasures of sympathy, tact, kindly consideration and helpfulness. New conditions call for reconsideration, reconstruction. The gospel of Jesus Christ, though old, is ever new, and is equal to every emergency, each fresh demand.

In the past, for a variety of reasons, women have been too self-centred; they have lacked public spirit, their outlook has been limited. Home and kindred have been their only interest. To-day, on all hands, women are entering into a larger life—a fuller, truer, and even more unselfish one.

Out of the blackness of the night
The world rushes into light:
It is daybreak everywhere.

On all hands there are signs of an improved public opinion, ■ desire to apply to daily life and work the

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

principles of the Sermon on the Mount. Much has been done to improve social and industrial conditions, but much remains to be done. Great opportunities for service are open to those who have eyes to see—'see and serve' is truly the call.

It is only possible to touch on a few problems in this chapter, and to indicate roughly the social work possible to women.

I

The subject of 'home-workers' has been periodically brought forward, and public feeling has often been aroused. But there is still a great number of women and girls in the country, legally known as 'out-workers,' women and girls who have work given out to them by employers to be done in their homes. The following trades come under the provisions of the Factory and Workshop Acts: making, finishing, or altering wearing apparel; making, finishing, or mending lace; cabinet and furniture-making and upholstery work; electro-plate and file-making, and fur-pulling. The making of stuffed toys, brushes, paper-bags and paper-boxes is, and the workers in them are, to some degree, protected. 'Sweating,' as it is understood to-day, has been defined as 'a condition of industry under which the workers are practically compelled to work at starvation wages, for excessive hours, and under insanitary conditions.'¹ Probably the worst examples of 'sweating' are to be found in the homes of the out-workers. Take a few of the 'sweated trades': cloth finishers, for instance. A lady sanitary inspector of wide experience estimates that '1d. per

¹ Schloss.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

hour is not an unusual rate of payment for clothing finishers, and out of this there are sewing materials to be provided, soap, and fire for heating the irons for pressing.' Added to this are the long tramps with bales of clothing to and from the work-places in all weathers.

The making of volunteers' uniforms, which should surely be a well-paid piece of patriotic service, has recently been paid for at the rate of 1*d.* and 1¼*d.* per hour. Match-box making is often paid at the rate of 2¼*d.* per gross, with fire, paste, and string to find; paper-bag folding at 2½*d.* per hundred; sack-making at 6*d.* per turn of sacks (a turn is eighteen to twenty-four sacks). In tooth-brush making, by working every day (Sundays included), 7*s.* per week can sometimes be earned; more frequently 5*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* At strawberry-basket making the average earnings of workers are 9*d.* per day. But little imagination is needed to realize what misery such wages mean.¹

It seems almost impossible to get home-workers to combine. They are very scattered, and have so much to keep them back. Life with them is a perpetual grind, and they have no time to think about the more general aspect of their work. The Factory Act of 1901 increased the responsibility of employers to their out-workers, and they are now forbidden, under penalty of a fine, to send work to a place which is injurious, or dangerous to the health of the workers. This is in addition to the old regulation relating to infectious disease. Further legislation is still needed. It is thought that a system of licensing out-workers would be an advantage. A

¹ See full list. R. Mudie-Smith's 'Catalogue of the Sweated Industries Exhibition,' published since this chapter was written.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

suggestion has been made that the time has arrived when 'Wages Boards,' as they exist in Victoria, Australia, might be introduced into England to fix standard minimum wages in various trades, assuring a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. But the difficulties and objections are serious.

There is much to be said in favour of home-work for women, especially for mothers of families, if only it could be done under humane and reasonable conditions.

II

The Government Blue-books show that there are one million and a half women and girls employed in factories and workshops, and eighty-two thousand in regulated laundries. The average wage earned by a woman of the industrial class has been estimated at 7s. per week, or perhaps rather less. This, in many instances, has to cover all her expenses, and, in addition, to meet charges for deductions and fines imposed by the employer. A recent instance of a deduction may be given. In a factory, from a room of four hundred girls, 2d. per head a week was exacted towards the wages of the cook. The cook's wage amounted to 8s. per week ; the levy from the workers ran into between three and four pounds weekly !

It is strange how little the average working woman knows about the laws which exist to protect her. All those engaged in social work, especially amongst women, should certainly make themselves acquainted with the provisions of the Factory and Workshop Acts, the Shop Hours Act, and the Public Health Acts.

The following matters are of vital importance to social

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

and industrial women-workers, and they all come under the scope of the Factory Act : Bad sanitation, defective heating arrangements, insufficient ventilation, illegal overtime, overcrowding, insufficient meal-times, unreasonable fines and deductions, proper regulations for health in dangerous trades, and the fencing of machinery.

We are living far below the standard of our existing laws at the present time. It is necessary to make new laws ; but, at the same time, let us utilize to the full extent the laws we have.

Women and girls who work in small workrooms are often the greatest sufferers ; these workrooms are apt to be overlooked by a busy inspector. But the girl who works single-handed for a dressmaker is as much under the protection of the Factory and Workshop Acts as the hundreds working in a large factory.¹

The need is very pressing for an increase in the existing staff of women factory inspectors, which now consists of but ten women. These are systematically overworked, and cannot possibly keep pace with the growing demands of their responsible positions.

It is almost impossible correctly to tabulate the effects of the factory system : so many things are involved. The adult death-rate is high in manufacturing districts. Many causes contribute to this : the density of the population, bad housing, the smoke-polluted atmosphere, and the unhealthy conditions of employment. Infant mortality is alarming : married women cannot successfully fill the two positions of wage-earner and house-mother. The

¹ Bona-fide complaints can at any time, without fear of consequences, be addressed to Miss Anderson, Lady Inspector's Department, Home Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

constant strain, physical and nervous, especially in textile factories, is very detrimental to the health of the workers. 'Division of labour' has gone to such lengths that there is little, if any, demand upon the intelligence of the workers. As one factory worker aptly expressed it, 'While the machines have almost become human, the human tenders of them have almost become machines.'

Most of the women-workers suffer from bad appetites : want of fresh air, constant fatigue, the rush to get home in the meal hour, or the vitiated atmosphere of the workplace or dining-room where the food is eaten, are all contributing causes. The average diet is not calculated to maintain normal health. Tea with bread and butter, and large quantities of meat (if funds allow) is the staple food. Pickles and sauces are consumed in abundance as appetizers. Factory-workers have no time for vegetable cookery ; simple, well-cooked food, giving the necessary variety, means time and thought, and for this there is no leisure. Respiratory diseases—bronchitis, pneumonia, pleurisy—are very common, and also affections of the digestive organs. 'Quacks' and 'herbalists' flourish in factory towns. Two great needs in factories and workshops are, first, the provision of large, well-lighted, and well-ventilated dining-rooms, thoroughly equipped with cooking apparatus ; and second, improved sanitary accommodation. The works of Messrs. Cadbury at Birmingham, Messrs. Rowntree at York, and Messrs. Burroughs and Wellcome in Kent, are splendid object-lessons to the country at large in these and other particulars. All honour to the men who thus make a happy, healthy life possible to their workers.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

III

The key to much of the wretchedness of the working-class home in manufacturing centres is the employment of married women. It is productive of much domestic chaos and misery. The home is inevitably neglected, the children are ill-cared

The Employment of Married Women,

for and underfed, or wrongly fed, and the husband, finding no comfort in his home, falls a ready prey to all the attractions of the public-house. Many married women go to the factory or mill from choice; having spent their girlhood amid the whirl and excitement of the factory, they cannot settle to the quiet and monotony of domestic life; moreover, they prize the extra money thus gained for themselves. This is by no means true of the majority, however. Sadly too many women have no choice in the matter; they *must* work. The following causes contribute to this necessity: (1) The uncertainty of husbands' employment. Builders, painters, and others, whose work depends on the weather, have many weeks 'out' per annum. (2) The lowness of husbands' wage. The wage of the unskilled labourer is not sufficient to keep an average family. The wife must work to supplement the husband's earnings. (3) The ill-health of the husband. (4) The drinking habits of the husband. (5) The necessities of widows having large families of young children dependent upon them.

It is very little use to prohibit the work of married women by legislation; the time is not ripe for such a measure. Women must be educated to see that, except in cases of dire necessity, they have no right to sacrifice the life of the home for the sake of a few extra shillings per week. Women of all classes need increasingly to

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

realize the sacredness of their high and holy calling as home-makers and house-mothers. We must, by every means, seek to safeguard, build up, and ennoble the home life of the country.

The high infant death-rate is one of the gravest features of modern life. No nation can afford to lose its young life at the rate England is losing hers at the present time. It is a hopeful sign that so many of our medical and municipal experts are making a special study of the subject. It may be noted that there appears to be a consensus of opinion upon one point—viz. *that the improper feeding of infants is the chief factor in the case*, artificial feeding being so largely substituted for natural food (mother's milk). Dr. J. B. Hellier says that 'any one who has had experience of the children brought to our hospitals knows how infants' ailments date from the time of commencing artificial feeding, and to how great an extent the maladies of infancy predominate in frequency amongst hand-fed or bottle-fed children. The close connexion between modes of feeding and infant mortality is shown by the fact that, during the sufferings and starvation connected with the siege of Paris in 1870-1, whilst the general mortality was doubled, that of infants is said to have been reduced about 40 per cent., owing to the mothers being obliged to suckle their own infants. The same increase in adult, and diminution in infant, mortality was seen during the Lancashire Cotton Famine, when the mothers were not at work in the mills.' Sir William Broadbent affirms that 'the chief causes of infant mortality may be summed up in four words—improper feeding, insanitary surroundings.' Sir James Crichton-Browne declares that 'of the 150,000 infants who die annually in this country in the first year

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

of life, three-fourths have been artificially fed.' Other causes are: The drinking habits of the parents; the amazing ignorance of mothers as to the simple laws of health—the mothers also are so often underfed, and at the same time sadly overworked—insanitary homes and surroundings, with all the attendant evils. Lord Rosebery spoke truly when he said, 'You cannot breed an imperial people in the slums and rookeries of our great cities.'

Amongst the remedies for this state of things are:

- (1) Stringent regulations to ensure a pure milk supply.
- (2) Municipal milk-kitchens for the supply of milk for infants.
- (3) The education of women and girls to prepare them for their duties as home-makers and house-mothers.
- (4) Women sanitary inspectors in every town, to help and advise working mothers.
- (5) Incentives like that provided in 1904-5 by the Mayor of Huddersfield.¹

Remedies.

In districts where married women are employed there is a great need for day nurseries. Statistics prove that in some districts the infant death-rate is out of all proportion to that of other districts where more favourable conditions prevail. These nurseries should be within easy reach of the homes of the people; they should be small, well equipped, and under the supervision of a trained nurse. A small fee for admission should be charged. A committee of management, to draw up rules and regulations and supervise, is usually appointed, with one or more medical practitioners as honorary advisers. There are many additional advantages secured by day nurseries. A lady Guardian, who has made a special study of the subject, has summarized

Grèches or
Day Nurseries.

¹ See p. 273.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

these advantages as follows: '*For the child*: Health, full physical and mental development, habits of regularity and self-control. *For the mother*: Education in the laws of hygiene and sanitation. *For the family*: Opportunity for self-help without neglect of the child. *For the community*: Relief in the cost of maintaining those whose failure in life is due to early neglect.'

In Paris there are sixty-six crèches, and in many of them lectures on the feeding and management of infants and young children are given to young women. It has been suggested that the same thing should be done in England, bringing the lectures into the Technical Education scheme.

There is ample scope for work in connexion with these nurseries, or in the starting of them where they do not exist. Educated women possessing the necessary knowledge might give talks or lectures on 'The Feeding and Care of Infants and Young Children' in mothers' meetings, women's clubs, and other women's meetings.

IV

Girls and women employed in shops present yet another aspect of women's work. The long hours, constant standing, and absence of fresh air, are
Women and Girls in Shops. very detrimental to health.

The living-in system has much in it that is objectionable—the lack of home comfort, ill-cooked food, the insanitary condition of sleeping apartments, and insufficient sanitary accommodation. These things, together with a low rate of remuneration and frequently the tyranny of unreasonable fines and deductions, often make the life of a shop-assistant trying in the extreme.¹ The

¹ See p. 250.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

anaemic, sickly look that many shop-assistants wear tells its own tale. Some business houses have as many as fifteen fines, ranging from one penny to half a crown.

The chief remedies are the improvement by the employers of general working and domestic conditions, the reduction of hours, provision of reading and sitting-rooms for those 'living in,' and longer holidays. Early closing may be facilitated by the early shopping of purchasers of all classes, and the Shop Hours Act thus made a practicable piece of legislation. By that Act closing at a given hour may be made compulsory when a certain proportion of shopkeepers in a given trade agree upon it. The weekly, especially the Saturday, half-holidays are also of vital importance.

V

England needs to-day thousands of thoughtful Christian women, young and old, who will 'see and serve'; women who will bring their intelligence to bear upon these problems, study cause and ^{Future} Possibilities, effect, and then set to work to do all in their power to remedy defects and combat evils. Lady Henry Somerset's message comes as a rallying-cry to the women of England: 'Let self be so surrendered that all we have is invested in the one absorbing enterprise of our life—the profit of humanity.' There is an infinite variety of work possible to women; service which can engage the one talent or the ten equally well. Young women with life before them should prepare themselves in every possible way for a useful future. The study of domestic economy and hygiene should form part of the education of every girl. The wonderful knowledge of food-values

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

which the Jewish women possess probably accounts in great measure for the splendid health of the Jewish children. An elementary knowledge of sick-nursing, with an understanding of minor ailments and the preparation of simple, dainty food for invalids, is indispensable to a woman. In these days of inexpensive classes and lectures for the study of 'first aid,' 'sick-nursing,' cookery, dressmaking, physiology, domestic economy, hygiene, and gymnastics, there is no excuse for ignorance or inefficiency.

Women living in manufacturing centres, who desire to do all they can for girls and women, should make themselves acquainted with the work of the following societies :

(1) The Industrial Law Committee.¹ This Committee supplies information as to legal protection of industrial workers, and seeks to safeguard the interests of women and girls in various trades. An Indemnity Fund exists in connexion with this committee. Its object is to protect women and young persons under eighteen of both sexes who are dismissed from their employment for giving truthful evidence to H.M. Inspectors of Factories and Mines, or to Sanitary Inspectors and Shop Hours' Inspectors. In bona-fide cases wages are paid until fresh work is obtained, and help is given to find work. Women are wanted as correspondents, to acquaint the Committee with any suspected breaches of industrial laws.

(2) The Women's Industrial Council² also aims at protecting women and girl-workers. Its operations are varied and extensive. It embraces the following

¹ York Mansions, York Street, Westminster, London.

² 7, John Street, Adelphi, Strand, London, W.C.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

interests : Investigation Committee ; Association of Trained Charwomen ; Girls' Club Library ; Picture-lending Library ; Physical Drill Classes ; Club Industrial Association ; Technical Education Committee. Workers needing help and information as to the best methods of work in their own particular centre would do well to get the advice of the Secretary of this Council.

(3) Women's Trade Union League¹ for the formation of Trade Unions for women. The League represents the organization of seventy-five thousand women-workers of various trades. It seeks to organize women wage-earners, to improve working conditions, and to promote needed legislation. 'The organization of women wage-earners is one of the most vital and most neglected problems with which London is confronted to-day. . . . Great as is the work that trade unions are doing as levers to improve working conditions, and as benefit societies to render mutual aid to their members in times of trouble, they are fulfilling an even more important function as schools of social and economic education—education in its widest and truest sense. Women's trade unions are developing in their members the faculties of observation and deduction, and the capacity for administrative work ; they are bringing new and wider interests to women-workers, and educating them to become better citizens, so that, living a fuller life, they need no longer look to marriage as a way of escape from the monotony and drudgery of existence, but are enabled, when they do marry, to undertake their responsibilities, better fitted mentally and physically to be the mothers of the coming race.'²

¹ Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.

² Miss McArthur.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Work amongst children offers an inviting and generally popular field of activity for women. *The Children's Happy Evenings Association*,¹ which is doing such splendid work in so many towns, is always glad to get new workers—workers with a good fund of energy and

brightness, and a love for and an understanding of children. *Games Clubs for Children*² present an opening for the 'athletic girl' to utilize her training and her strength for the good of the coming generation. Children's play and games of all kinds, indoors and outdoors, may be systematically organized and supervised. It is hoped that in the future a much better use will be made of the play-grounds in all elementary schools and the spaces set apart in parks for the use of children. Covered play-grounds for wet weather are greatly needed all over the country. *Special Schools*. The 'special school,' seeking, as it does, to enlarge and beautify life for the afflicted, is one of the best features of modern education. Schools for cripples, blind, deaf and dumb, and defective children are to be found in most large towns. Voluntary workers are often needed. In cripple schools the children are frequently brought in an ambulance and stay all day, dinner being provided. The dinners are often managed by a committee of ladies, who have a dinner plan, and in rotation do duty for a week—waiting on the children at dinner-time, playing with them during the break between morning and afternoon school. The honorary services of skilled workers to teach the children trades is much appreciated.

Vacation schools, as introduced by Mrs. Humphry

¹ Hon. Sec. Mrs. Bland Sutton, 47, Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.

² See also p. 276.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Ward, are meeting a felt need. The Settlement School, Tavistock Place, London, W.C., had an average daily attendance, in the summer of 1905, of over nine hundred.

The following branches of social service for women may also be mentioned: Temperance work, Saturday night concerts, suppers, and entertainments as counter-attractions to the public-house; the work of 'Girls' Life Brigades' and 'Young Women's Brigades of Service,'¹ penny banks, clothing clubs, Christmas clubs, preventive and rescue work, hospital and workhouse visitation (in the latter case entertaining and teaching simple handicrafts to the inmates); common lodging-house work, with special reference to the women and children; social work in connexion with our central missions. Choral societies for the people in town and village afford an opening for the use of musical talents. An Eisteddfod might be established in every district. Girls' clubs and institutes, with gymnastics, swimming, music, sewing, and cookery classes might be everywhere organized.

In conclusion, we would say to every woman-reader: Find your work, your God-appointed task, and do it with both hands earnestly. Above all, seek in your daily life and labour to manifest the spirit of Jesus Christ, 'who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'

¹ Details may be obtained from Dr. Paton, of Nottingham.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Industrial Work and Industrial Laws, by Gertrude Tuckwell.
(Industrial Law Committee, York Mansions, York Street,
Westminster. Price 6d. net.)

Is a useful little book. It gives a synopsis of the Factory and
Workshop Acts, Public Health Acts, &c.

Physical Exercises for Girls, by Theresa D. Skempel. (Andrew
Melrose. Price 4d. net.)

Can be strongly recommended to workers in girls' clubs, brigades,
&c. It is clearly written and well illustrated.

Infancy and Infant Rearing, by John B. Hellier, M.D., &c.
(Griffin & Co., Exeter Street, Strand.)

The author in his preface expresses the hope that this book may
be of service to those who are seeking by means of lectures,
addresses, &c., to spread a knowledge of this important subject
amongst the poor. Workers needing help and information are
strongly advised to purchase this book.

The Ministry of Christian Women, by Dr. Paton, Forest Road
West, Nottingham. (Price 4d. net.)

This is one of the 'Inner Mission' leaflets, by Dr. Paton. This
series of papers on various aspects of social service deserves to
be more widely known.

Women's Work, by A. Bulleyn M. Whitley. (Methuen. Price
2s. 6d.)

Handbook for Women, by Helen Blackburn. (Stamford. Price
2s. 6d.)

For women at work on social and political questions.

The Catalogue of the Sweated Industries Exhibition. R. Mudie-
Smith. (Anti-Sweating League, Daily News Office, Bouverie
Street, E.C., 6d.)

A mine of the latest and fullest information upon 'sweating' in
all its branches.

CHAPTER XIV
THE YOUNG, OR
CITIZENS IN THE
MAKING

W. B. FITZ-GERALD
LEEDS

Finally, I hold it to be indisputable that the first duty of every State is to see that every child born therein shall be well housed, clothed, fed, and educated, till it attain years of discretion. But in order to the effecting this the Government must have an authority over the people of which we now do not so much as dream.

‘STONES OF VENICE.’

One may fairly say that the expense of supporting all the lads and girls of the nation at school during the five years from the age of thirteen to eighteen could not equal the cost of supporting all the men over that age for three years, as in Germany during military service. Intellectual and handicraft conscription of all the little citizens between the ages of thirteen and eighteen every day, from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m., is the kind of conscription to which England is coming.

STANTON COIT.

CHAPTER XIV

THE YOUNG, OR CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

Both physical and moral maladies may be nearly, if not quite, eradicated in a single generation. JOHN RICHARDSON.

SOME one has said that, if you wish to develop a genius, you must begin with his grandfather. If that be so, in order to produce men and women of capacity in the future, we must begin without delay with the grandfathers of the generation after next. The children are the makers of to-morrow. Time and trouble spent upon the boys and girls of the nation will ultimately have more effect than all the marvellous inventions the twentieth century may have in store for us. In order of importance the question of the children stands easily first. It is vital and urgent.

In the brief space of a single chapter it is only possible to outline the problems which call for consideration. At best these pages can only be an essay towards a larger study. There is so much to be known, so much to be done. I can only hope to stir others to think, investigate, and experiment.

What I have to say about the making of citizens falls naturally under three heads:

The Building of the Body ;
The Unfolding of the Mind ;
The Start in Life.

THE YOUNG, OR

I

THE BUILDING OF THE BODY comes first in the order of nature, though, unfortunately, it has been neglected in the process of legislation. When, thirty years ago, the State stepped in like a fairy godmother, and, with a wave of her wand, swept the children into the schools, benevolently declaring, 'You shall all be educated, and educated free,' she forgot that many of them were hungry, and that, by depriving the parents of their children's earnings, hunger and poverty would grow apace. The natural result has followed, and to-day we have thousands of starving children at the bottom of the scale. The social structure is rotting at the base, and, unless prompt and vigorous measures are adopted, still greater disaster will follow.

It is of the first importance that the people of England should realize the *magnitude of the evil*, and perhaps it will help the imagination if I begin with a concrete illustration.

In 1902 a curious investigation took place in one of the slum schools of the city of Leeds. Dr. Hall, one of the most respected medical men of the city, retired from professional work, undertook, with the consent of the School Board, a careful medical examination of the children of this particular school. They were weighed and measured; their eyes, teeth, mouth, ears, skin, and hair were thoroughly scrutinized; the whole of the inquiry was carried out with scientific accuracy.

The results were startling, and, in some respects, extraordinary. With the exception of about a dozen,

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

the children were physically unfit. Bad teeth, spongy gums, defective sight, wisps of hair, skin spotted with a kind of scurvy, rickety, crooked limbs,—these and other ills characterized the majority. It was plain that an immense number had not enough to eat, and the little food given them was of the wrong kind.

There were about a dozen exceptions, and these, on inquiry, turned out to be Jewish children. These were well-fed and in good physical condition. The contrast was amazing, and Dr. Hall was so greatly impressed that the next school he visited, still in the poorest part of the city, was a Jewish school. Here there was scarcely a weakly child. These slum children were possessed of good bone and muscle, with healthy skin, eyes, and teeth.

Many thousands of children were similarly examined. Schools in artisan districts were visited, as well as others in the slums. But even in the healthier neighbourhoods the physical outfit of the English children was not quite up to the standard of the Jewish boys and girls in the poorest districts.

The results were a revelation to Dr. Hall himself, and he visited the homes of the children in order to probe the matter more deeply. The explanation was not to be found in superior cleanliness or sanitation on the part of the Jews, for they are just as dirty as their neighbours. *The secret was in the feeding.* Ninety per cent. of the Jewish infants are fed at the breast, and, however poor the family may be, the children have plenty of bone-making and fat-making food. Late at night, just before the market closes, the Jewish mothers may always be seen, with sacks, bargaining for fowls, fish, and vegetables, so that their boys and girls may not go short. The

THE YOUNG, OR

English children, on the other hand, are brought up anyhow. Their food is stale, musty, and poor in nutritive quality, and is helped down by pickles and strong condiments, which play havoc with the digestive organs.

These facts are suggestive.

In that great city, typical, no doubt, of other teeming centres of population, a serious proportion of the children are physically unfit. They are starting life with unhealthy bodies, the easy prey of disease, predisposed to alcoholism and vice, and destined—many of them—to be lost, sooner or later, in the mass of the ineffectives and unemployables who are the despair of the social reformers of to-day. And yet, in the very same environment, there are sturdy, well-conditioned children, defying the dirt and dullness of the city slum, and differing only from the miserable little specimens round them in the fact that they are well and healthily fed. A significant contrast.

But how far is the condition of things at Leeds characteristic of the country at large?

Let us turn to the 'Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration,' published in 1904.

The Blue-book of 1904. From this interesting document it is clear that this undermining of our national health and strength is in progress in all our large towns, and, to a less extent, even in country villages. So far as the youngest children are concerned, it amounts to a veritable massacre of the innocents. In some parts of London, where one-roomed tenements abound, the infant death-rate is 223 per thousand births; in Sheffield the rate is 200, and, in one district, 234; in Burnley it is 210; and in Preston it reaches the terrible figure of 236

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

per thousand. Testimony abounds to show that multitudes of those that survive have to face life with miserably impaired constitutions, and can never, in the nature of things, become strong and effective citizens. It is interesting to note that the Commission agreed with Dr. Eichholz that '*Food* is the point about which turns the whole problem of degeneracy.' In London alone there are 122,000 children underfed, or 16 per cent. of the entire school population.

Let us look at some of the conclusions to which these facts are leading us.

On the estimate of such careful investigators as Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree and others, nearly 30 per cent. of the population are below the poverty line—that is, have not enough to eat or sufficient clothes to keep them warm.

The population of England and Wales at the last census was 32,526,075, and is now estimated to be 43,000,000, so that somewhere between 10,000,000 and 14,000,000 are insufficiently clothed and fed.

The children of this hungry multitude, the boys and girls who ought to be the strong and intelligent citizens of the future, are spending hungry days and comfortless nights in dreary surroundings, and are being burdened with a physique unsuitable for the more strenuous service of life, and with no defence against the germs of disease and the habits of vice that find a ready prey in the weak and unfit.

The strength of the nation is being undermined at the foundations.

In face of these facts, what is being done—what more can be done—to remedy this disastrous state of things?

THE YOUNG, OR

Few will quarrel with me if I lay it down as an axiom at the very outset that *the children must be fed*. It is

Remedies. futile to discuss abstract questions of political economy. It may be perfectly true that in thousands of cases it is the fault of the parents. It is our business to raise up a race of better parents, and we are not likely to do so by leaving little children to the tender mercies of the thriftless, ignorant, incapable creatures who have brought them into existence. The very parents themselves are frequently more to be pitied than blamed. They are the products of the same system, themselves the creation of the slum. We must not forget, too, that there are immense numbers who have been submerged through no fault of their own, pushed down by adverse circumstances, beaten in the fierce struggle for life. But the children represent our national capital. However difficult the problem of the adult may be, there is hope if we can better the lot of the little ones.

While this volume is passing through the press a Bill is before Parliament providing for the feeding of hungry children in our public elementary schools, and as, in some modified form, it will probably become law, it is not necessary to describe in detail the experiments already made in many of our great towns and cities. Dr. Hall, in Leeds, ever since his first investigations, has regularly fed some hundreds of these unfortunate little ones. It has cost him about $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ a child per day, most of the children paying threepence a week towards the cost, and fivepence if breakfast is included as well as dinner. So far as I have been able to gather information, the body-building qualities of the food supplied will compare favourably with the food given in any other

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

centre, and the effect on the children is most marked. Birmingham takes the lead for economy. The whole cost, including the salary of 'a heaven-sent manager,' works out at a halfpenny a day per child, and 2,500 have been regularly fed.

So far as methods are concerned, we may learn much from other countries. France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Sweden have all accepted the principle of State subsidies for the feeding of needy children. In Sweden schools are built with kitchen and dining-rooms, and the children sit together at small tables in what they call 'family groups.' In France the work of feeding is undertaken by a special fund called *La Caisse des Écoles*. In some districts the whole of the money is raised by voluntary efforts, but in poorer neighbourhoods the Government helps. There is no uniform system of management. Each district devises its own methods. One happy feature about the Parisian dinners is that no distinction is made between those who pay and those who do not. The children may sit side by side at the same tables and never know that a difference exists.

Foreign
Examples.

As the proposed Bill will probably leave large option to local authorities as to the mode of working, it may be useful to summarize the ideas considered most workable by many who have studied the question.

Methods.

1. The management, as suggested in the Bill before Parliament, should be under the Education Authority. This does not imply that the teachers will be the sole judges as to necessitous cases, as some seem to imagine.

2. While the public authority will be responsible for the cost, there is no reason why voluntary contributions

THE YOUNG, OR

should not be heartily encouraged. A Citizens' Fund for Social Service, created partly by public grant and partly by voluntary gifts, might finance not only this but other social schemes.

3. In the actual management voluntary workers should co-operate with the authorities. The more citizens can be induced to do their own civic work the better for the community.

4. Some further legal enactment is needed to enable the authorities to secure the cost from the parents when they can and ought to pay. Briefly, it must be *taken* and not recovered. Just as income-tax, to make sure of it, is deducted from dividends and other forms of income, so the cost of feeding a man's children ought to be deducted from his wage, and be paid to the authorities by his employer. The man who neglects the first duty of a citizen, the care of his own children, needs to be summarily dealt with.

A larger question, however, opens out at this point. What can be done to awaken a feeling of responsibility in the parents, to teach them the elementary facts as to food and health, to create, even among the lowest, a happy and healthful home life?

**A Mission
to Parents.**

No doubt our most hopeful policy is to work for the future. If we can create a new race of citizens, healthy in body, free from the taints which lead so easily to alcoholism and vice, and equipped with bright intelligence for the service of life, then the next generation will be immeasurably higher than the one around us to-day. Proper feeding and education may do much to bring about this result.

At the same time a great deal may be done by a social mission direct to the parents themselves.

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

One of the most interesting of recent experiments was the one carried out so successfully by Alderman Broadbent, M.A., of Huddersfield, during his mayoralty in 1904-5. He offered a gift of a guinea for every infant, born during his year of office, who should live to be twelve months old. A card on baby-feeding was issued by the Corporation. Every birth had to be immediately notified, and every mother was visited by a lady competent to give her hints as to the feeding and nurture of her baby. These visits were continued throughout the year, and were not only of service to the infants, but brought about the brightening of some homes in other ways. The most marked result was the decided lowering of the rate of infant mortality. It was not that the poor mothers of Huddersfield would do for money what they would not do out of natural affection; it was rather that the scheme opened the way for personal intercourse with those who were able to tell them much of which they were woefully ignorant. The work of the lady visitors has been done in no patronizing spirit. They have thrown into their work a love and sympathy which in themselves have done much to win the hearts of the mothers and encourage them to effort.

In the City of London a work is now in progress which it is certain will have similar results. Within the City boundaries there are no less than 1,500 tenement houses, and the mortality among the children is appalling. Out of every thousand children born in the City 144 never live to be twelve months old. But the Medical Officer of Health is trying an experiment which is already full of hopeful promise. Notification of every birth is sent direct to him by the two Registrars, and Miss Pole, the chief lady inspector, has assumed the rôle of 'Instructress of

THE YOUNG, OR

Mothers.' She is a lady possessed of delicate tact and the highest qualifications in midwifery and sanitary science, and her visits are warmly welcomed. It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the good which this educated and sympathetic lady is doing by her mission to the mothers, and it points very plainly to what ought to be done in other centres.

Here, again, is a vast field for voluntary service. It is not work that can be done by any one. Those who would serve in the noble work of saving the little ones, and building up the ideal of home life among the poorest, must equip themselves for the task. It needs wit as well as willingness. It is a work which needs to be undertaken by the Guilds of Help which are springing up in many of our large towns, and which have for their object the welfare of the people.

II

From this large and interesting problem I pass on to THE UNFOLDING OF THE MIND. I have purposely dwelt The Unfolding of the Mind. more fully on the building of the body than I am able to do on the two other topics, because it is the most pressing problem of the time, and, by the majority of people, the least understood. It is also fundamental, no mental culture being worth very much if there is a lack of physical stamina.

Yet the unfolding of the mind is a tempting topic. It opens out the whole field of education, and education, in the broader sense of the word, includes, to use the language of Dr. Coe, 'everything that enters into the process of shaping the character of the child.' The limitations of space will, however, only allow me to note

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

briefly some neglected factors that press for consideration, especially so far as the poorer classes of the population are concerned.

Education begins with play. Long before the mind is fitted for formal instruction it begins to unfold itself in all kinds of beautiful ways—beautiful, that is, if allowed to expand under happy and natural conditions. But over the lives of thousands of our city children there hangs a horrible pall of gloom. Crowded by night in teeming tenements and cellar dwellings, and shut in by day in a maze of sunless streets, one of the first great needs is some change by which we may give to these children of the city their natural inheritance of joy.

In the poorest neighbourhoods the school is the happiest refuge of the children; but, speaking of children as a whole, school—in the sense of order, instruction, and discipline—begins too soon. The school age has recently been raised to five years, but for another two years, at least, very little is gained by an attempt to stimulate the intellectual centres. In the opinion of many the infant school, up to six or seven years of age, should be a nursery and playroom. The room should be the sunniest that can be found, and its walls should be hung with coloured pictures of life and beauty. There should be room to run about and play, and the children should be allowed to prattle freely. Teach them by song and lively game, by fairy tales and pictures, but leave more serious things until the little mind has begun to work on its own original lines. There is no need for teachers of high attainments; simple, warm-hearted, loving girls, who may possibly pass on, as they grow older, to the occupation of the

THE YOUNG, OR

nurse, are better for the purpose than those whose one aim is to gain a high place in the teaching profession.

There is need, too, in populous centres, for city playgrounds, and for the *organization of play* among the children of the streets. Health, morals, and education are closely interwoven, and the mere exercise of the intellectual faculties, if at the same time there be no natural outlet for the flow of natural spirits, will only result in the wholesale manufacture of young hooligans and juvenile criminals.

In America great attention has been given to the uses of play in the healthy development of child-life, and with the happiest results. Some of these movements call for mention, as, in different forms, they are extending to this country.

In the small boy, for instance, there is always a sort of barbaric instinct, which evidences itself in raids upon orchards and gardens in the country, and in hooliganism in the city. Mr. Thompson Seton's story of *The Rise of the Seton Indians* tells how, by the simple device of organizing the boys of a village into an Indian tribe, electing its own chief, and carrying out its programme with all the picturesque detail of war-paint and feathers, these troublesome energies were turned into healthy channels, resulting in increased powers of observation, love of nature, and capacity for acting together.

At a slightly older stage boys respond very readily to the ideals of chivalry. This instinct is appealed to by the organization known as the Knights of King Arthur in America, which has a parallel in the Guild of Honour started in this country by Dr. Paton, of Nottingham.

A still more interesting development is that of Boys' Civic Clubs, based on the lines of city administration

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

and giving the boys some idea of the qualities needed in the life of a citizen. One of the most remarkable of these is 'The Juvenile City League of New York.' This is 'an organization of street boys in New York City with the purpose of training them toward a true attitude of citizenship.' It does this by interesting them in their own streets. The boys of each block or section are organized into a gang under its own captain, and they are enlisted as volunteers in the Department of Street Cleaning. In addition to these civic responsibilities they are encouraged to go in for athletics. Base-ball and boxing are the most popular, and the base-ball tournament, with sixty-four games, is one of the events of the season. Already a new spirit has been introduced into the blocks, and there is a distinct advance in the moral tone of the boys.

One can only name such ventures as Playground City, the George Junior Republic, the School City Scheme, as illustrations of the energy with which our cousins across the Atlantic are attacking the problem. A boy has been described as 'a restless perplexity in breeches,' and the problem of his development, as also of the corresponding puzzle in petticoats, the girl of the city,¹ calls for the utmost ingenuity and intelligence.

The subject of the educational curriculum of our people's schools is too great for my present purpose, but it must never be forgotten that the work in hand is the making of citizens, and citizens must be men and women well equipped for the actual work they will have to do, and must understand something of the great and noble meanings of life.

Those great meanings will be lost unless the spiritual

¹ See also p. 260.

THE YOUNG, OR

instincts are awakened. Mr. Horsfall, in a very suggestive paper in *The Contemporary* on 'Health and Education,' very forcefully says :

'I am old-fashioned enough to be convinced that some clear religious knowledge is necessary even for the maintenance of physical health. I have watched many lives, and I believe that the acceptance of the principles of Jesus Christ has been a condition complied with by all the livers of the physically healthiest of those lives, though some of the livers did not admit that Christ was their Leader.'

All social paths that have truth in them inevitably lead back to Christ.

III

If the first critical period in a child's history is the first year of infancy, the second in order of importance is usually THE START IN LIFE.

The old system of apprenticeship is dying, and, in some industries, altogether dead. Where it still continues the door is, in most cases, open only to those who can pay a premium, or to the children of such as are already employés. Year by year the number of children who begin to work without any chance of learning a trade by which they will be able to earn a living is growing at an appalling rate. School over, or the half-time limit reached, the boy or girl must 'make money.' *Thousands of poor little mites have to begin still earlier.* Poverty is a hard driver, and accounts for a great deal ; but, in many instances, it is sheer selfishness on the part of the parents. The question with these is not 'How can my boy make the most of his powers ?' or 'How can he be taught to earn his own

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

living when he is a man?' but 'How can he earn money for me?'

The number of children employed before they have even left school is very great. An Official Report published in 1901 estimated that there must be at least 300,000. These are children employed in factories, shops, and in street-selling and household work. Mr. Sherard, the author of that pathetic book, *Child Slaves of Britain*, puts the number even higher. Referring to the above estimate, he says:

'These figures, it will be seen, do not include Scotland, for which no recent general statistics exist; but I do not think it would be exaggeration to state that in the two kingdoms there are at the present day, at ages ranging from five to fourteen, *at least half a million of children of both sexes* engaged in wage-earning labour, often of a dangerous, sometimes of a fatal, and almost always of an exhausting nature—to say nothing of the "young persons," as the law styles children over the ages of thirteen or fourteen, who have obtained their certificates and are free from school attendance.'

When the amount of work exacted from these helpless little children is taken into account, one feels that Mr. Sherard's term, 'child slaves,' is no exaggeration. Here is an extract from the report of a London School Attendance Committee:

'1,143 children work from 19 to 27 hours per week.

'729 children work from 30 to 39 hours per week.

'285 children work from 40 and above hours per week.'

How far the Employment of Children Act, which came into force on January 1, 1904, will reduce the evil, yet remains to be seen.

THE YOUNG, OR

The results in the after-life of the children are terrible. They are summed up in the plain words of Mr. L. Cope Cornford, whose book, *The Canker at the Heart*, recently published, is another attempt to rouse the people of England to the seriousness of the social problems of the day. This is what he says :

‘Another and most fatal cause of mischief is the custom of employing boys at unskilled labour, at boys’ wages, until they are eighteen or so, when they are promptly discharged to make room for more boys. There are thousands of sturdy youths of eighteen to twenty, or twenty-five, hopelessly trying to get unskilled work. Their parents have set them to earn so soon as they have left school, in order that the money may go into the common stock. As a rule, the parent is unable to pay for apprenticeship to a trade. Very often, whether he is able to pay or not, he never even entertains the notion. In plain words, the youths of England, after quitting school—the State school, be it remembered—are, after a few years of wage-earning, absolutely driven to idleness. So, ill-fed, unhelped, and desperate, they sink, ere manhood, into the irreclaimable.’

In considering the making of our future citizens, these facts will unquestionably have to be promptly and resolutely dealt with. Whether a revival of the old idea of apprenticeship be possible may be open to question ; but, in any social order that claims to be civilized, not to say Christian, it ought to be laid down as an axiom that *every child ought to have a fair start*. The time ought not to be far distant when *every boy and girl will be taught some useful trade or craft*. The question is complicated by considerations of parental control, employment, and the need for social adjustments

Teaching
Trades.

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

—questions which belong to other chapters of this volume ; but it is not too much to say that, under any order of things, the children of the nation ought to be equipped to play a useful part in life.

Efforts are being made to deal with the problem in many parts of the country. Leeds and other cities are starting Trade Schools, and are appealing to the common sense and good feeling of the parents to let their children make use of them.

Perhaps the most important contribution to this subject is a Report on the Apprenticeship System, published by the Education Committee of the London County Council. In addition to a careful study of the whole subject, it outlines a series of proposals which, backed up by other reforms which bear indirectly on the subject, would do much to bring about a better state of things.

The central idea is the establishment of day and evening technical schools throughout the country.

On leaving the elementary school some boys would avail themselves of the 'part-time' system, working a part of the week in the workshops and the remainder in the day technical school. Others, working during the day, would attend evening classes, and it is suggested that co-operation with the employers might result in the shortening of the hours of labour for those who do so.

Scholarships are proposed which would carry with them free tuition at these schools and a maintenance grant during the years of training. Others, of course, will be expected to pay the fees themselves.

Into these same schools will also come those who have won trade scholarships in the secondary schools, and who will thus have the opportunity of perfecting

THE YOUNG, OR

themselves in craftsmanship and qualifying for the higher industrial positions.

Still further, it is suggested that scholarships should be provided from the trade schools to the university, opening the way to the very highest technological and scientific training. From these picked youths we should get our future inventors and 'captains of industry.'

Such a prospect holds out bright hopes for the future, but there are many steps to be taken before this bright consummation is reached. We may, at least, be thankful that the citizens of this country are at last awake to the necessity of taking the initial steps.

Many subjects have perforce to be omitted in a brief survey like the present. The new and successful methods of dealing with juvenile criminals under the Borstal System, now to be applied to three large jails, which are to be reserved for this purpose only; the noble service rendered by such institutions as The Children's Home, and other refuges for waifs and strays; the beautiful work done for crippled children; and many other services, too numerous to mention, are full of interest and rich in promise.

Time and trouble spent upon the children will bring rich returns in the near future. While other things are necessary, surely the moulding of the young life and thought stands first and foremost in order of importance.

CITIZENS IN THE MAKING

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. (Wyman & Sons, 1s. 2d.)

Essential to any serious study of the question.

Studies of Boy-Life in our Cities. E. J. Urwick. (Dent & Co., 3s. 6d.)

The Boys' Club. Neuman. (David Nutt, 2s. 6d.)

Child Slaves of Britain. Robert H. Sherard. (Hurst & Blackett, 6s.)

The State and the Children. Gertrude Tuckwell. (Methuen, 2s. 6d.)

METHODS OF SOCIAL WORK

1. *The Feeding of the Hungry.*—Co-operation with existing agencies. Starting the work where it is needed.
2. *Visiting the Homes.*—Flowers are the best introduction to the homes of the poor. Even plants may sometimes be given, and the care of them prove a means of good. Once win a welcome, and much may be done to help the children.
3. *Cripple Missions.*—These are established in many towns, and afford a beautiful outlet for service to girls who have leisure.
4. *The Children's Sunshine Hour.*—An idea started by the Forest Gate Wesley Guild in order to help the children of West Ham. They give the children a good meal, and then play games with them, and teach them to sing. It has done immeasurable good.
5. *Boys' Clubs.*—For full information as to these, and the many new methods of work now being introduced, it will be best to write to the National League of Workers with Boys; Secretary, Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse, Toynbee Hall, E.
6. *The Young Leaguers' Union of our own 'Children's Home.'*

CHAPTER XV
THE CITY,
OR THE SERVICE
OF THE CITIZENS

SAMUEL E. KEEBLE
MANCHESTER

The observation and interpretation of the growth and development, the progress and decay of human societies—and these especially as presented in historic and contemporary cities—constitute the central problem to which all the sciences lead up, to which all the arts converge, and to which all the problems of the individual are related.

PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES.

Noble horses, cattle and sheep on the public lands, and vast spaces of land for culture, exercise, and garden, round the cities, full of flowers which, being everybody's property, nobody could gather; and of birds which, being everybody's property, nobody could shoot.

JOHN RUSKIN.

It is the glory of democracy that it either ends quickly or lifts all its citizens to a higher stage of manhood and of citizenship.

STANTON COIT.

CHAPTER XV

THE CITY, OR THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

Good citizenship must be cultivated by an education in social ethics rather than by a course in political history.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

THE word 'citizen' has first reference to a city, town, or urban or rural community, and only a secondary reference to a nation or a state. Its use in relation to the latter may be traced historically to the growth of cities like Athens and Rome into states, by which citizenship of a city changed into 'citizenship' of a state or empire, the privileges, duties, and rights of citizenship expanding with the political and territorial expansion of the city itself. In the title of this book the word is used in its wider and later sense; in this chapter, citizenship will be regarded not from the larger and national, but from the local and civic point of view.

Social service, like charity, begins at home, and local self-government is a special feature of English life. Hence this volume would be still more incomplete than it is were it to close without giving, however briefly and inadequately, some indication as to the nature of the mutual relations of citizen to city and city to citizen, and of the modern methods of that noblest kind of service—

THE CITY, OR

the service of the civic community. Many of our readers are incipient citizens, who will soon have to bear the burdens and perform the duties of active responsible citizenship, and they especially should consider carefully the duties and rights of citizens. The ground can be covered in a brief and general way by considering, first, the functions of the citizen ; next, the functions of the city or corporation ; and finally, the future of the city in the modern world—when both citizen and city will be ‘functioning’ aright.

I

There is no need to dwell at length upon the functions of the citizen, because those functions are so obvious and so well known. It is clear that every citizen should be moral, well-behaved, just, law-abiding, loyal, and public-spirited. He should possess a civic conscience, and discharge every civic duty diligently, in a prompt, intelligent, orderly manner—as though the whole well-being of the community depended upon his individual action. He should take a keen and practical interest in the administration of civic affairs, and in all civic movements and developments, and ever be willing to take his own share of work and responsibility, however small or humble. The masculine pronoun here used is meant to include women. Even if women have not yet obtained full civic and legal recognition, they are equally important members of the community with men, and have their own rights and duties in relation to the community as such. They are under its laws, and profit or suffer by civic development and change quite as much as, if not more than, men. They

The Functions of the Citizen.
i. Civic Virtues.

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

are, as sisters, wives, and mothers, as well as workers, and often property-owners, a vital portion of the civic community, and should be legally recognized as such, with the full rights of citizenship. There certainly cannot now be any healthy and progressive civic life where women do not claim, receive, and exercise equal civic rights and duties with men. Until such times come, and in order that they may come, women-readers should resolve to take as real, if not as keen, an interest in the affairs of the city as of the home, shop, or social circle.

If civic virtues are obvious, so also are civic vices. There is a sense in which every virtue or every vice is anti-social, 'for no man liveth to himself,' and, in the social realm, what is right for the individual, despite Machiavellianism, ancient and modern, is right also for the community. The nobler or the baser the private character of the citizen, the better or the worse will it be also and finally for the city. But there are certain civic vices against which every member of a community should constantly guard both himself and the city. These are selfish individualism, civic indifference or apathy, and corruptibility. The first vice ii. Civic Vices. is malignantly active, the second poisonously passive, and the last morally disintegrating.

The steady, selfish pursuit of personal interests or profits, in flagrant disregard of the interests or the well-being of the general community, is a grave, but all too prevalent civic vice—whether it be in the form of pushing the drink trade, or of profiting by providing degrading entertainments or literature, detrimental provisions or bad dwellings, or by growing rich on industries which lower the standard of health and life for a district. This is unpatriotic, anti-social, and immoral. It is bad citizen-

THE CITY, OR

ship. Were all the citizens so to act, the given communities would become rotten and end in ruin. To accept all the social and individual advantages of community life—its protection, services, and socially provided opportunities—and yet neither to serve nor feel any interest in that organized community, save grudgingly and complainingly to pay such rates and dues as are compulsory, is also reprehensible. Such citizens deserve to experience what life would mean—and once did mean—where no civic organization existed for their advantage, protection, and comfort. Civic apathy is a form of civic selfishness of which no Christian should be found guilty. Amongst our Saxon forefathers, as in ancient Athens, it was punishable at law for a citizen to fail to assemble at the town or tribal meeting and record his vote. Our modern English citizens manifest a lamentable decay of civic virtue in this respect. The Japanese attend to communal duties with great zeal. Under the stress of modern industrialism and the reign of individualism, multitudes of the members of our modern communities of all grades live lives of absolute indifference to their civic duties. They hardly ever record a vote, or know or care anything about the movements and needs of the communities of which they enjoy the advantages.

Amongst the baleful results of this perhaps the chief is that the management of cities and communities is often secured by those who are anything but apathetic—the land speculator, the jerry-builder, the designing contractor or business man, the scheming financier, the crafty lawyer, the selfish brewer or publican. These social vampires take the deepest interest in the corporate life of cities—that they may suck their blood. The selfish apathy and social indifference of the otherwise respectable

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

citizens leave all the machinery of civic management at the mercy of these 'blood-suckers,' who work it to selfish advantage. The cities of the United States, with their 'hoodlers' and 'bosses' and 'Tammany rings' and rottenness, are object-lessons upon a great scale of what happens perpetually in England upon a small scale. The mismanaged, mal-developed, hideous, and unhealthy towns and cities of the United Kingdom are largely due to the apathy of respectable citizens wholly engrossed in private interests and pleasures. For their social sins they might well be compelled to live alone in the infernos they have allowed to grow up,¹ with those

Who nor rebellious proved
Nor yet were true to God, but for themselves
Were only.

Corruptibility is another great civic vice. Nothing is more amazing to an honest, to say nothing of a Christian, man than the numbers of citizens whose vote and influence can be bought and sold for business inducements, for posts or favours to families or friends or party, for drink, and even for vulgar cash. Bribery and corruption, in vulgar or subtle forms, are widely prevalent, and are a fearful mark of civic decadence. The good government of every community demands that every citizen shall be absolutely incorruptible. No bribe or inducement—whether vulgar or refined—should ever awaken within the breast of a true citizen any feelings save those of indignation and disgust; and there should be no surer or swifter way for an individual or a party to ruin civic prospects than to descend to such social infamy. There is no hope

¹ See *The Revolution of the Twentieth Century*, by H. Lazarus. (T. Fisher Unwin.)

THE CITY, OR

for the permanent progress of any community where its voters and its representatives—its citizens of every grade and class—are not as incorruptible as Andrew Marvell or Abraham Lincoln.

II

In ancient and mediaeval times the life of the citizen was more completely covered by civic administration than it is in modern times. Under the The Functions of the City. influence of Benthamite individualism, personal freedom was the note of the last century, and the new municipal governments from 1835 to 1865 were made to confine themselves mainly to the business of protecting citizens in the pursuit of lawful interests, guarding streets, people, and property, and attending to the administration of justice and the relief of the abjectly poor. Beyond this they were not to go, beyond this their action was positively resented; and hence came, from the domination of the weak by the strong, and from social neglect, half—or more than half—our civic evils. But a gradual, a great, and a necessary change has come over the modern mind as to the true functions of municipal government. The cholera epidemics of the mid-Victorian era compelled municipal sanitation; then its corollary was added—the public provision of water and gas—and the new age began.

The conception of the function of the municipality to-day is that it should do everything which lies in its power, not only to protect the persons and property of citizens, but to serve to the utmost the interest of their health, convenience, and social progress. The new municipal spirit was perhaps first expressed by the Mayor of Manchester in 1894, when he said: 'We are

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

weary of the too costly luxuries of the policeman and the relieving officer. We have a strong longing coming over us to have something to see for our money when we have spent it. We are learning that great things can be done by means of the rate for the health, comfort, education, and enjoyment of the people. Wickedness, ugliness, and dirtiness offend us now more than they used to do. We groan under these burdens, and are determined to free ourselves from the load by a united effort, by means of the effective and equitable raising of the city rate.'

The urban, town, or city councils take now what would once have been called a very 'grandmotherly' interest in the citizens, and they deliberately 'mother' the communities in their charge. The truer way of expressing it, however, would be to say that, save in the case of the weak and helpless, who need such care, it is the movement on the part of the citizens to manage collectively, so far as practicable and profitable, all those affairs common to the whole body of citizens and essential to their happiness, convenience, and comfort. Modern communities, under the reign of a false individualism, suffered, either from social neglect or from the rapaciousness of private companies and contractors; and even when the supply of the public needs had been carried out fairly and honourably by private enterprise—which was often the case—the citizens have come to see that there is no reason why the organized community itself should not discharge those services, and secure for the good of the city or for the relief of the rates those large profits which had hitherto gone into private pockets.

Hence has arisen the wonderful development of modern Municipal Socialism, as witnessed in the operations of

THE CITY, OR

the famous London County Council, and of the Glasgow, Manchester, and other corporations. The influential attack made on 'municipal trading' and municipal indebtedness in *The Times* newspaper, whilst revealing many municipal mistakes and some real dangers, was easily and finally answered by the Right Honourable John Burns and other experts.

It should be the business of citizens, incipient or otherwise, to become acquainted with the workings of modern municipal government, in order to take an intelligent part as voters, or possibly, as voluntary or paid civic servants. A few condensed remarks upon this matter may serve as a slight guide.

There are in the United Kingdom some thirty thousand local governing bodies, all created, practically, in these last seventy years—since the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. These bodies administer at least £400,000,000 sterling of capital, and directly employ some three hundred thousand persons. Their actual income and expenditure amount to over £100,000,000 sterling annually. Forty per cent. of the income is derived from rates, twelve per cent. from Imperial grants and taxation, twelve per cent. from revenue, twenty-six per cent. is raised by loans on interest, and the rest in other ways. Municipal indebtedness, of course, is huge—amounting, in all, to some £300,000,000 sterling—but nearly one-half of this is borrowed for work which is, or will be, reproductive and profitable. This local self-government is the pride of Englishmen. One-half of it is carried on by authorities which, in the aggregate, spend more money and employ more civil servants than the whole of the national government.

Deputations visit us from the Continent, like the recent

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

visits from French and German municipal authorities, and experts like Mr. Albert Shaw, of the United States, study our local government system with undisguised admiration, despite their knowledge of defects of which we ourselves are conscious.

The simplest form of local self-government is that of the *Parish Meeting*. Every parish, with a population of a hundred, has a right to call a parish meeting, in pursuance of a practice dating back to the most primitive times. This assembly of ratepayers has legal power to discharge such functions as lighting the highways and establishing a public library, and of discussing parochial affairs. It can also join other small parishes in forming a Parish Council.

Parish Councils, of which there are nearly seven thousand in the United Kingdom, are elected by the ratepayers. They have the legal power to raise rates for local purposes up to 6*d.* in the £, but cannot go beyond 3*d.* without first obtaining the consent of the Parish Meeting. They control the public property of the parishes, with local charities, and administer the Lighting and Watching and Public Libraries Acts, and have compulsory power to hire land for allotments.

District Councils come next, with much wider powers. *Rural* District Councils, of which there are nearly seven hundred, represent small scattered areas. *Urban* District Councils, of which there are over eight hundred, are often larger in area, population, and rateable value than many borough towns. These councils may, in addition to the Acts before-mentioned, enforce the Baths and Wash-houses Acts, the Housing of the Working Classes Act, maintain open spaces, control the gas and water supply, appoint Burial Boards, maintain markets, and assist in administering the Education Acts.

THE CITY, OR

Then come the *Town Councils*. Of these there are three kinds: *Borough Councils*, which have powers beyond District Councils in controlling the police, and possess the dignity of a Mayor in place of a Chairman. *County Borough Councils*, which take over still further duties hitherto performed in their area by County Councils, including technical education. This is the form of local government possessed by the thirty-three great towns in the Registrar-General's list, although there are thirty-one more City Borough Councils—sixty-four in all. *County Councils*, of which there are sixty-two, administer county affairs, such as the provision and maintenance of roads, bridges, reformatories and asylums, and attend to coroners' duties, technical education, river pollution, cattle disease, and many other matters.

The only distinction between *Town* and *City* Councils is one of dignity, the City Councils possessing a *Lord Mayor*. It is not now a necessity that a 'city' should be the seat of a cathedral, nor even a university, although most of the new industrial 'cities,' such as Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, do now possess universities. In addition to all these councils, there are in the country 660 *Boards of Guardians*, popularly elected. These raise money for the poor by means of poor rates, and administer it through workhouses, overseers, and relieving officers. They raise about £28,000,000 per annum, about one-half of which is expended in relief of the poor, and the other half for other public purposes. The administration of justice is in the hands partly of the Imperial and partly of the local governments, and is carried on by means of judges and paid and unpaid magistrates, or 'justices of the peace.' There are civil

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

and criminal courts, and trial by a jury of his peers is the prerogative of every accused person.

A City or Town Council consists of a definite number of aldermen and councillors, the latter of whom are elected by the ratepayers to represent the different wards into which the city is divided. These are elected for a period of three years, and retire regularly in rotation, but are eligible for re-election. The Aldermen are practically life-members. Let us take a northern City Council, for example. At the first meeting of the municipal year—in November—the members proceed to elect the Mayor, who presides over all Council meetings, guided by the Town Clerk, a permanent and important official, who is the Council's legal adviser, legal representative, and legal authority.

The mass of corporation business is transacted in committee. At the first meeting Standing Committees are appointed, consisting of about fourteen members (three making a quorum), each with an appointed chairman and deputy-chairman. A mere list of them indicates plainly the nature of modern civic administration. To the *Watch Committee*, which deals chiefly with crime and the drink traffic, the Council delegates its powers under forty-two Acts of Parliament, covering police and licensing matters, children, gunpowder, pedlars, barbed wire, wild animals, and sixteen other matters, as well as under certain specified by-laws. The Museums, Libraries, and Parks Committee is a growingly important one; so also are the Gas and the Cemeteries Committees. To the Health Committee, with its medical officer, inspector, and staff, the Council delegates its powers under thirty Acts of Parliament and under thirty-six sections of Town Improvement Acts. The Finance,

THE CITY, OR

River Conservancy, Baths, Highway and Paving, Tramways, Parliamentary and Public Trusts, Buildings and Bridges, Town Halls and Markets, Lighting and Cleaning, Water, Electricity, Improvements, Entertainments, and Education Committees are each and all of the highest importance, and involve vast labours. The General Purposes Committee consists of all the members of the Council meeting to transact business which cannot be postponed to the next legal meeting of the Council, as well as all business of a general character not relegated to committees.

The rates of a city are levied by the Council upon recommendation of the Finance Committee, which in its turn is assisted by estimates prepared by the other spending committees. In the City Council in question the December meeting of a recent year empowered the officials to raise three rates: The *Borough Rate* of 3s. 10d. in the £, to raise £178,480, which covered for the year the work of the Finance, Education, Parliamentary, Rivers, Health, Baths, and Parks Committees. The *General District Rate* of 1s. 9d. in the £, to raise £72,030, to cover the expenses of the Improvements, Lighting and Cleaning, Town Halls and Markets, Conservancy, Paving, and Sewers Committees. The *Highway Rate* of 6d. in the £, to raise £24,510, explains itself. Hence, for that year in that city, rates were raised by the Council to the extent of 6s. 1d. in the £, and the Poor Rate came to 2s. 11d.; in all, 9s. in the £ of rental value.

The City Council conducts its main business in public, and controls all its own committees. Annual reports of great importance are presented to it through these committees, such as the Chief Constable's, giving the facts

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

and figures about the police-work and the crime of the city, and also the administration of the Licensing Acts. This report includes also the reports of the Inspector of Weights and Measures and of the Chief of the Fire Brigade. The next important report is that of the Medical Officer of Health, with its vital statistics and arresting records of sickness and sanitation. Then come those of the Museums, Libraries and Parks Committees, of the Lighting and Cleaning Committee, of the Baths Committee, of the Education Committee, and the reports of the Public Analyst and of any Distress Committee which may exist. An advanced corporation like Glasgow¹ will also receive Model Lodging-house Reports, Bacteriological, Chemical, Veterinary, Telephones, and Inebriates' Reformatory Reports. These reports should be carefully studied by all citizens and by every social reformer.

It will thus be seen how vast is the work already done for modern citizens, and what need there is for a constant supply of public-spirited, self-sacrificing men and women to carry on the voluntary part of that work; how carefully such should be chosen, and what need there is for an instructed, appreciative, and intelligent body of civic electors. There are those who think that the work is growing so vast that it cannot much longer be done by voluntary service, and that mayors, for instance, should be salaried officials, as in Germany. But, so far, there has been no lack of noble-minded citizens to assume these honours, despite the unpatriotic reluctance of many men of position and education who derive their wealth from cities which they decline to serve.

¹ See the fascinating *Souvenir Handbook*, issued by the Glasgow Corporation. 1904. (Anderson, Glasgow.)

THE CITY, OR

Every Christian citizen, especially, should see in civic service a true sphere for consecrated and noble labour. As the Glasgow Corporation *Handbook* well expresses it: 'In the complex organization which represents the life of the community, the common aim of all effort is to provide the individual citizen with a suitable field in which his best energies may be developed.'

III

It is clear that the worst is past in the matter of civic neglect and mal-development. The hideousness, insanitariness, and unhealthiness of modern towns is beginning to yield to treatment. The Future of the City. The false economy of industrialism which subordinated the human being and his environment to wealth-production, as well as its inhumanity, is coming home to the entire nation. In addition, the improved education and increased administrative and self-governing powers of the workers themselves are creating, and not a moment too soon, a better environment for them and their families. The slums are disappearing, the death-rate is still falling. Sir J. Woodhouse, speaking recently at the Association of Municipal Corporations, said that during the last thirty years the corporations had reduced the death-rate by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In other words, 250,000 persons were living who would have died under the old conditions, and 30,000,000 had been saved from more or less serious illnesses. The entire appearance of old cities is changing, and new 'garden cities' are rising. A new science is being born, entitled 'Civics,' and the laws of city development are being scientifically studied and applied. There is a renaissance of the civic spirit akin

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

to that which animated the men of Athens and old Rome, the citizens of the free Republics of mediaeval Italy, and the burghers of mediaeval France, Flanders, and Germany. There is indeed much to be learnt from the Middle Ages concerning citizenship—the duty of the one to the many, the many to the one, and the duty of all to the organized life of the whole community. And we are learning it.

Yet the work of reform and of progress remaining to be done is still great. Millions of our fellow countrymen still live, as the previous chapters have shown, in unideal, nay, inhuman conditions of overcrowding, insanitation, overwork, physical inefficiency, social neglect, dreariness, inconvenience, and hideousness not to be tolerated by those who have seen the vision of the City of God, of which 'the Lamb is the light thereof,' and whose citizenship 'is worthy of the gospel of Christ' and of the needs of humanity. Sir Edwin Cornwall, of the London County Council, speaking in Paris before the Municipal Council there, voiced the new civic spirit of the twentieth century when he said that 'modern cities had a decisive rôle to play in the world to-day—to make our boasted civilization a real living thing, to sweep away the slums that disgrace our streets, to secure for all conditions under which the true social life alone is possible, to breed a strong, healthy, energetic race, to spread abroad the blessings of education, and finally to unite together in one harmonious bond the races of men which nothing should ever have put asunder.'

It remains to mention, in the barest manner, just a few of the directions in which the coming generation can serve the citizens. The removal of the pall of poisonous smoke from our crowded cities and the consequent

THE CITY, OR

purification of the atmosphere is a matter of urgency, and it can be done. Science has now made this economically possible, and the emission of smoke and noxious vapours from factory and dwelling-house chimneys should be sternly and swiftly repressed. The death-rate would at once diminish, as the character of fogs changed, and the joy of life be enhanced. Tree-planting and flower-growing in the very heart of great cities and towns would then be practicable, and their presence would soon transform their appearance and increase their healthfulness. The diminution of nerve-wracking noises is another urgent need and possibility. The electrification of railways should do much to abolish for ever the ear-splitting engine-whistle, and the invention of musical motor 'hooters' and tramcar-gongs is a necessity. The control of traffic by night in the interests of the young, aged, weary, and sick, and the final stopping of the brutal selfishness which sends traction-trains and motor-waggons thundering by night through miles of streets, to the disturbance of thousands of sleepers, is an urgent need. The diminution of the rattle and the roar by day through improvements in machinery, in wheels and axles, and also in the paving of streets, is work for the near future. The watchful preservation of the natural beauties of the outskirts of towns and cities and the country generally is a new civic and national duty. Private owners will soon not be permitted, for private profit, to destroy beauties which they did not create and cannot renew. They are common property—God's gift to all men. Soon will men be compelled to cease turning the fairest spots on England's soil into hideous rubbish-heaps for gain. The 'new' housing movement will bring gardens again into the centre of the towns, and 'garden cities' will arise in

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

greater numbers in rural districts. 'The example of Germany' will be followed, and municipalities will gain the right to plan out suburban building estates, so that too many dwellings shall not be crowded upon one site, and too few gardens and open spaces provided. City Councils should be empowered to obtain a ring of land of some miles circumference at agricultural value, in order that the rising land-values, due to city prosperity and development, shall come to the community which creates it, and also in order that the community may control the growth of its own suburbs, and provide allotments, parks, gardens, and open spaces. Municipalities must be encouraged to supply all those common routine wants of the population which are, or have become, necessities of life, and cannot be tampered with by monopoly or vicious competition without detriment to the public good.

The lighting and cleaning of the poor quarters of cities will be as rigidly attended to as are the better quarters. The work of scavenging and dust removal will assume an ever-increasing importance in the light of modern bacteriology, and all dust-raising machines will be branded as pernicious. Ancient and historic buildings will be jealously preserved, and attention paid, in dealing with old and new buildings, to the picturesqueness of skylines, and to that beauty of cities due to gables, spires, turrets, towers, and pinnacles. Public parks will be made to radiate out into the very centres of cities—in avenues, tree-planted streets, park-like vistas, nooks, and seats. Provision for open-air life will be a very great feature of the future in cities. Houses will be provided with balconies, sheltered verandahs, roof-gardens, and promenades, and, in the parks, every possible provision

THE CITY, OR

will be made for luring into the open the town population, especially its women and children. Englishmen will slowly revert to the open-air life of their forefathers in 'merrie England.'

The part which will be taken by women in the life of the future community will be indefinitely greater than at present. Their maternal instincts and experience will more and more be brought, not only into the administration of public institutions—schools, workhouses, hospitals, reformatories, and parks—but into the whole varied life of the city. They will take rank there as the legal and intellectual equals of men, though diverse and complementary in function. Domestic drudgery will be diminished by science and municipal services, and the charm of home life increased by the broad culture of the young men and women in civic club-houses, drawing-rooms, and culture-institutes of every description.

Children will be catered for as never before—their physical health fostered for the communities' sake, their play organized, school-gardens provided in the parks, and agricultural and industrial training given in actual useful play-work. Animals and birds, and all kinds of gentle and tame creatures, will be kept to teach the young kindness and love to living things. These and a multitude of other improvements will mark the future of our cities. It will be the joy of Christian and enlightened citizens to co-operate with the authorities by the aid of civic unions and armies of voluntary workers. Chief amongst these new honorary civic servants will be the clergy and ministers of the land. They will provide the influential leaders in this work of scientifically applied Christianity to civic development. As Professor Patrick Geddes has said: 'The historic services of

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

members of the clergy to many sciences are not to be denied ; seldom, however, is it yet recognized that their share in the prosecution and advancement of the social sciences must soon become an increasing one, and, still more, their participation in the application of social knowledge and social ideals to the actual bettering of life.'¹

¹ *City Development*. Patrick Geddes. Outlook Tower, Edinburgh. 1904.

THE SERVICE OF THE CITIZENS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Municipalities at Work.* Dolman. (Methuen, 2s. 6d.)
Accounts of work at Birmingham, Glasgow, and other towns.
- Municipal Government of Great Britain.* Albert Shaw. (Unwin, 7s. 6d.)
Ably written—for Americans—by an expert.
- Problem of a Scottish Provincial Town.* J. H. Whitehouse. (Allen, 2s. 6d.)
Suggestive account of social work and conditions in Dunfermline, by the late Secretary of Carnegie Trust.
- City Development.* Patrick Geddes. (Edinburgh, 21s.)
A masterly scheme of civic development in connexion with Carnegie Trust, by a pioneer sociologist.
- Modern Civic Art.* C. W. Robinson. (Putnams.)
- The Citizen.* N. L. Shaler. (Constable, 6s.)
American, but full of help for young citizens.
- The Example of Germany.* T. C. Horsfall. (University Press, Manchester, 1s. net.)
Epoch-making account of German methods of developing municipalities.

INDEX

	A	PAGE
Air Space, Huxley on		129
Afforestation		162
Agricultural Depopulation		154
„ Education		153
„ Holdings		153 (note ²)
	B	
Barnett, Canon, on Living Wage		133
Bedfordshire Village Enquiry		132
Betting and Gambling		187-202
Bibliographies (Book Lists) .22, 48, 82, 104, 123, 145, 170,		
	183, 219, 244, 262, 283, 306	
Blue-book on Physical Deterioration		268
Borstal System, The		282
	C	
Causes of Poverty		133, 136
„ „ Unemployment		152
Charity, Bibliography on		82
„ Objections to		74
„ Scientific		140
Child Labour		166, 279
„ Problems: Bibliography		283
Children: Industrial Training		167, 278, 280
Christianity and Socialism		85-103
„ Social: Bibliography		48, 82
„ Social Value of		99
Christian Socialism		100-102
Church, The, and Social Problems		42
Citizenship		277, 287-305
City Development: Bibliography		306
Condition of Village Methodists		153
Co-operative Movement		116-7, 153

INDEX

D

PAGE

Deadly Trades	119-20
Depopulation of Rural Districts	154
Deterioration, Physical	268
Distribution of Land	153
Drink Evil, The : Bibliography	183
„ Question	40, 173-82

E

Economic Teaching of Christ	136
Education in Land Tillage	153
Eirenicon : Christians and Socialists	95
Elberfeld System	143
Employment of Children	166, 279
<i>Enquiry into the Social Condition of Village Methodists</i>	153 (note 2)
Expenditure, Municipal	294, 298
„ Unproductive	155

F

Factory Acts	21, 73, 113-5, 117, 154, 250, 251
Farm Colonies	156
Feeding of Children	266-72
Feudalism	7-8, 211
Figures, Fallacy of	132

G

Gambling	187-202
Garden Cities	201, 208, 209, 300-305
German Labour Colonies	159
„ Municipalities	240, 306
Guilds, English and Mediaeval	14, 138

H

Hall, Dr. : Leeds Slum Children	266-8
History, Industrial : Bibliography	22
Home, The Children's	282
Homes, Labour	158
Horse-races, Betting on	188
Housing Question	33, 41, 129, 223-43
„ „ Bibliography	244
Huddersfield Mayor and Infants	255, 273

INDEX

	I	PAGE
Idleness		137
Improvement, Working-class		134-5
Increase of Poverty		134
Industrial Law Committee		258
Infant Mortality		231, 254, 268
Inventions		20
	J	
Jesus, Social Teaching of		36-8, 136
Jew-children, Leeds		267
'Justice, not Charity'		76
	K	
Keeble, S. E., on the Municipality		287-305
Kelynack, Dr., on Drink		173-82
Kingdom of God		Preface x
Knight, Mr. Robert, on Betting		192
	L	
Labour		109-22
„ Bureaux		159
„ Movement: Bibliography		123
„ Question, Modern		120-2
Land Question	15-6, 152-4, 207-18, 235, 242	
„ Reform: Bibliography		219
Law, Poor		140
Living Wage		133
Lollardry		12
Love, Perfect, Its Social Implications		64
„ the Social Key		77
Lowest Poverty Untouched		135, 151
	M	
Machinery, Effects of		138
Mann, Mr. P. H., on Ridgemount		132
Manufactures		13
Married Women, Employment of	165 (note), 166, 253	
Methodist Revival		72
„ Village Enquiry	153 (note ²)	
Municipality, The		287-305
„ „ Bibliography		306

INDEX

	N	PAGE
National Unemployed Question		149, 151
Nationalization, Land		216
Natural Beauties		302
Newmarket and Gambling		188, 196
	O	
Old Age Pensions		142
„ „ Poverty		134
Open-air Movement		303
Owen, Robert		116-7
	P	
Parents and Underfeeding		270, 272
Pauperism		134
„ Bibliography		145
Peasant Occupation of Land		153
Penal Colonies		157
Pensions, Old Age		142
Play, Children's, Organization of		260, 275, 276
Poor Law		16-7, 73, 139-42, 151
Population		6, 21, 225
Poverty		16, 56, 63, 118, 127-44, 168
„ Bibliography		145
„ Lines.		131, 151
„ Old Age		134
„ Remedies for		139
Purity, Social.		129
	Q	
Question, Drink		173-82
„ Labour		107-20
„ Land		207-18
„ Modern Labour		120-22
	R	
Relief, Elberfeld System.		143
„ Poor		140, 160
Remedies for Poverty		139
Rents		233
Revival of Learning		13
„ Methodist		72

INDEX

	PAGE
Ridgemount, Village of	132
Right to Work, The	78, 148
Rural Depopulation	154
„ Poverty.	132

S

Serfdom	6
Service, Social Union for (on Unemployed)	148
Shop Hours Act	257
Shorter Hours	114
Slums	235
Slum School, Leeds	266
Social Christianity	25-47, 54-5, 122, 148, 202
„ Evolution	98
„ Purity	41
„ Reconstruction True Charity	81
„ Teaching of Christ	136
Socialism	85-103
„ Bibliography	104
Sweating	39-40, 166, 230, 248-9

T

Temperance Reform	33, 180
„ Bibliography	183
Tillage, Education in Land	153
<i>Times</i> Newspaper on Municipalism	294
Trade Unionism: Bibliography	123
„ Unions.	75, 110-12

U

Underfeeding	266-72
Unemployed, The Church and the	150
„ Classification of.	155-6
„ Wesleyan Conference on	148
„ U.S.S. Council on	148
Unemployment	149-69
Unequal Wealth Distribution.	152
Unions, Trades	75, 110-12
Unskilled Labour	280

INDEX

V

	PAGE
Vagrancy, Committee on	156 (note)
<i>Van, The Yellow</i>	226
Village Methodists	153 (note ²)
" of Ridgemount	132

W

Wage, The Living	133
Wages	17, 115, 157, 166
War	9-10, 19
Wealth	57-60, 119, 152
Wesley, Social Service and	51-68
Women, Civic Life and	288, 304
" Factory Inspectors	251
" Social Problems and	247-61
Women's Industrial Council	258
" Trade Unions	259
" Work : Bibliography	262
Work for Unemployed	160
" The Right to	78, 148
" " Worker and	17-8, 78, 79
Working-class Improvement	134

Y

Young, Care of the	260, 304
" Labour of the	166
" Women	248, 256, 261

Z

Zealand, New, Land Disputes	218
Zuyder Zee, Draining of	163

Printed and bound by Hasell, Watson & Viney, Ltd., London and Aylesbury.

THEOLOGY LIBRARY
CLAREMONT, CALIF.

007873

N
O
55
The Citizen of to-morrow : a handbook on social
questions / edited by Samuel E. Keeble for
the Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Ser-
vice. -- London : Culley, [1906?]
xv, 311p. ; 20cm.

1. Church and social problems--Addresses, es-
says, lectures. I. Keeble, Samuel Edward, 18
1946, ed. II. Wesleyan Methodist Union for
Social Service.

